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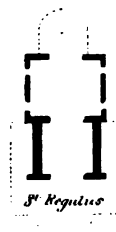
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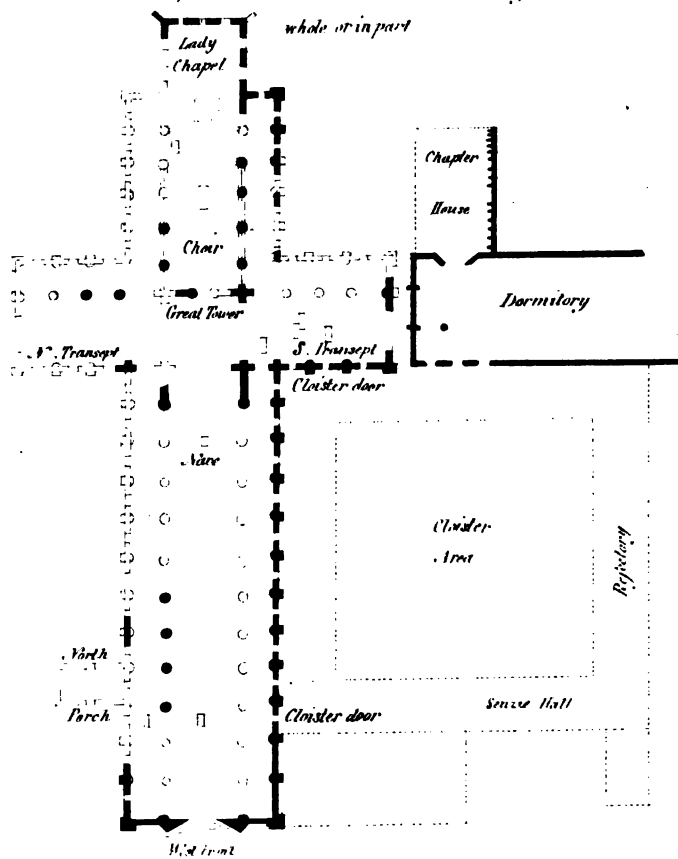
HISTORY
OF
ST ANDREWS.

"It was a very fine day. Dr Johnson seemed quite wrapt up in the scenes which were presented to him. He kept his hat off while he was upon any part of the ground where the Cathedral had stood. He said well—that Knox had set on a mob, without knowing where it would end; and that, differing from a man in doctrine, was no reason why you should pull down his house about his ears."⁴⁰—BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON.

Scale of feet



Those parts which are darkened are still standing in



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HISTORY

OF

ST ANDREWS,

EPISCOPAL, MONASTIC, ACADEMIC, AND CIVIL ;

COMPRISING THE PRINCIPAL PART OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGE TILL THE PRESENT TIME.

BY THE REV. C. J. LYON, M.A.,

FORMERLY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND NOW PRESBYTER OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, ST ANDREWS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

WILLIAM TAIT, EDINBURGH ;

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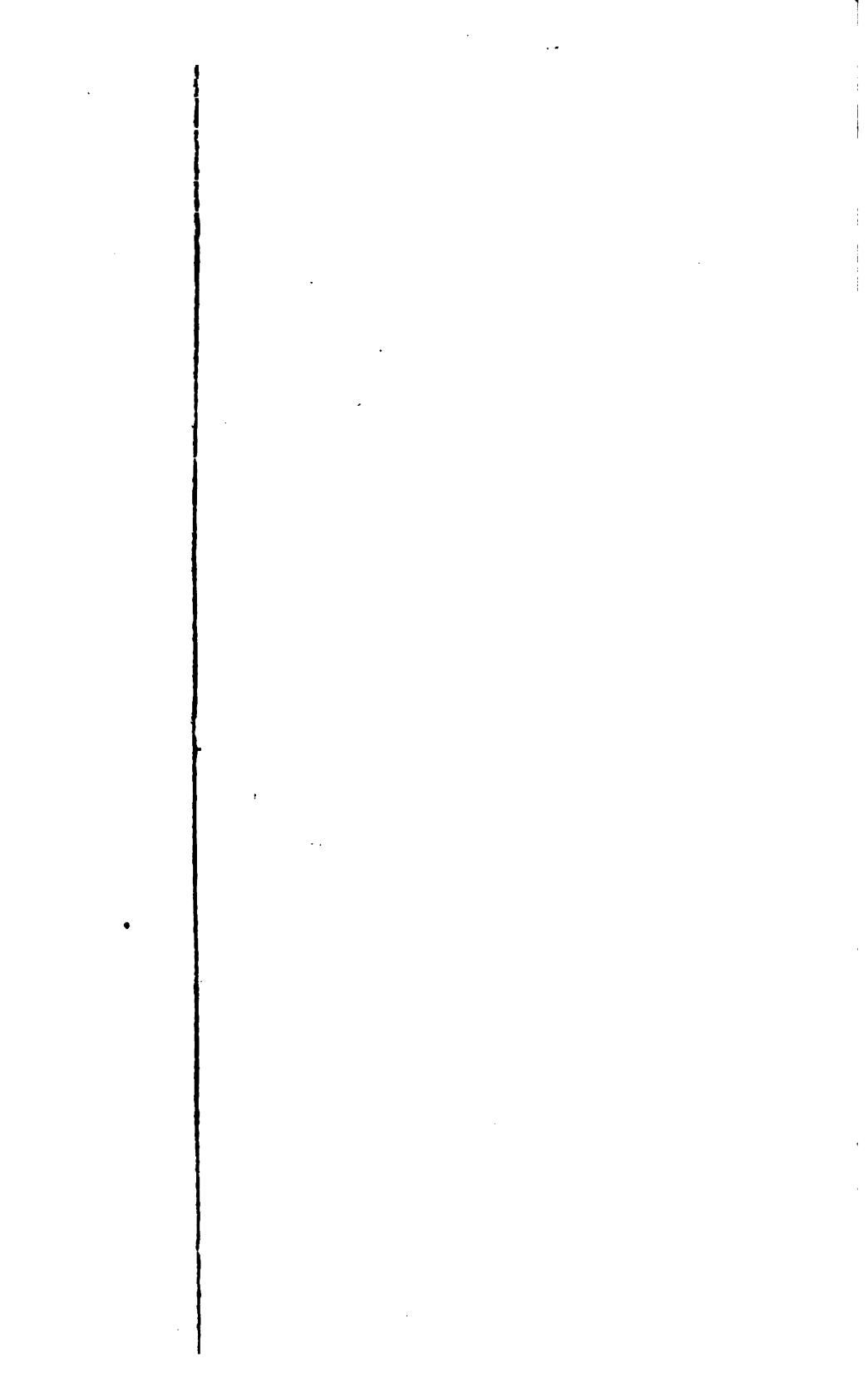
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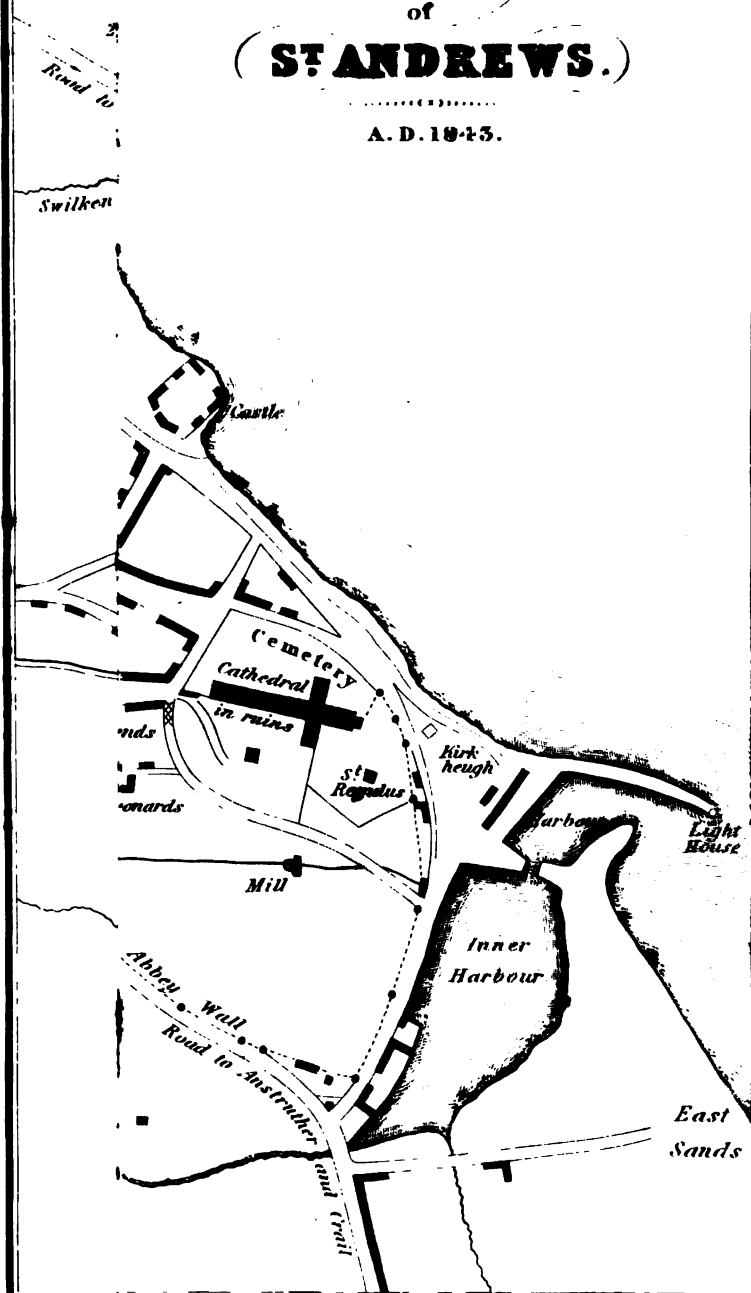
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PLAN
of
(**ST ANDREWS.**)

A. D. 1843.



HISTORY OF ST ANDREWS.

CHAPTER I.

History of St Andrews during the Grand Rebellion, from its outbreak in 1638, till the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland in 1650.

THE rebellious Assembly of the Kirk met at Glasgow, on the 20th of November 1638, in the cathedral of that city, a venerable edifice, which had certainly never before been desecrated by the presence of a set of men collected together for so unholy a purpose. All the lay-elders, and most of the ministers, were armed with swords and pistols; and the clamour and tumult which they raised was such as to disgust even Baillie, the spectator and vindicator of their general proceedings. But I can only give an outline of what passed on this occasion; a minute detail must be sought for in the general histories of the Church.¹ The king's commissioner was very soon obliged to leave them, as they refused to pay any regard to his wishes: but previously he commanded them to dissolve, in his master's name—a command which they met by setting him at defiance, and declaring their sitting to be permanent! They then proceeded to depose from their

¹ See especially the king's "Large Declaration," and Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton,

sacred office all their brother ministers whom they suspected of *malignancy*, *i. e.* of loyalty and Episcopacy; and announced their determination to do the same to "all such ministers as disobeyed their sentence." The acts of the six previous *lawful* General Assemblies, this *unlawful* one pronounced null and void, on the pretext that they were subject to "court influence;" and thus, at one blow, they abolished Episcopacy, the Five Articles of Perth, the canons, and the Liturgy. Their next measure was the daring excommunication and deposition of their "*pretended* archbishops and bishops," as they were pleased to call them. But here a formidable difficulty occurred. Most of these refractory presbyters had been ordained by the said "pretended" prelates; and, according to the universal practice of the Church Catholic, had, at their ordination, taken an oath of canonical obedience to them. How, then, were they, with any show of consistency, to depose from their holy office those whom they had sworn to obey? Their expedient was this: they passed an act "annulling the oath exacted by prelates from ministers when admitted to their callings!" We have all heard of the pope granting dispensations to his spiritual subjects from the observance of oaths; but it was a new sight to behold Protestants dispensing *themselves* from the observance of their *own* oaths. Yet we need not wonder; for extremes meet. "Puritanism," says Dr South, "is only reformed Jesuitism, as Jesuitism is nothing else but popish Puritanism; and I could draw out such an exact parallel betwixt them both, as to principles and practices, that it would quickly appear they are as truly brothers as ever were Romulus and Remus; and that they sucked their principles from the same wolf."¹ When the above difficulty

¹ Vol. iii. p. 535.

had been thus jesuitically removed, a committee was nominated to arrange, bring forward, and substantiate the charges against the bishops; so that, not being present themselves, either personally or by proxy, and the judges, jury, and witnesses all consisting of their avowed enemies, they were condemned as a matter of course. They were accused of almost every crime which the vocabulary of their language afforded; accusations which the members were but too eager to believe, as some apology for their enormous wickedness in so treating their ecclesiastical rulers. When unprincipled men are bent on any favourite object, they do not allow conscientious scruples to stand in their way. The bishops, accordingly, were deposed, or excommunicated, or both; were "declared infamous, and commanded to be so holden by all and every one of the faithful, and to be denounced from every pulpit in Scotland as ethnicks and publicans;" and all on the pretext of "zeal for the glory of God, and the purging of the Kirk." The primate in particular, one of the best and most learned men of that or any other age, was found guilty of "drunkenness, adulteries, breach of Sabbath, papistical doctrine, preaching Arminianism, incest, *et cætera*!"¹ for which he was both deposed and excommunicated by this anti-Christian court. These sentences were read by Alexander Henderson the Moderator, a presbyter who had himself been ordained, and bound to canonical obedience, by Gladstones archbishop of St Andrews.² Again, in

¹ Sir J. Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. p. 308; and Peterkin's "Book of the Universall Kirk."

² Gladstones presented him to the parish of Leuchars, near St Andrews; but he was at that time so unpopular, that he had to be inducted with the point of the bayonet. This shows how fickle and uncertain a thing is ministerial popularity. In 1638, he was one of the most popular men in Scotland. In justice to his memory it ought to be mentioned, that there is good reason to believe he repented, in his last days, of the part he had taken against his church and king. See

the time of Knox and Melville, the ecclesiastical state had been held to be one of the three Estates of the realm, and had so continued down to the present time ; but now the Assembly abolished this as "an anti-Christian usurpation ;"¹ not from any principle of self-denial, as has been alleged, but in order that they might concentrate more power in the General Assembly of the Kirk ; a power which they accordingly exercised, as we shall see in the sequel, with the most tyrannical, and even murderous sway, till the invasion of Cromwell, who very unceremoniously dispersed its members, and stripped them of their usurped authority. Lastly, this Assembly decreed a severe penalty against "such as should *speak* against their covenant ;" or be "malicious against their church ;" or "denyers of the acts of their Assembly ;" or who should "*print* anything anent the present divisions and controversies of this time, or any other treatise whatsoever which may concern the Kirk of Scotland," without written authority from their clerk, Mr Archibald Johnston ! In short, to use the words of a modern writer,² this Assembly "took no step which was not illegal ; pronounced no sentence which was not unjust ; manifested no feeling that was not unchristian ; and has left, even in the record of its proceedings by an enthu-

his Life by Aiton ; and also a copy of his dying "Declaration," in Lord Somers's Tracts, vol. iv. p. 215. As the fact of his repentance has been denied by his friends, I will here subjoin the testimony of the learned and pious Dr Hicks, who must have known him personally : "He spent all the remainder of his life in a sorrowful penitential retirement, for which he grew suspected by his brethren of the Covenant, who called him apostate from its cause. There are many persons yet alive who can testify this to be true."—*Ravillac Redivivus*.

¹ Yet Henderson himself was afterwards the first to unite the civil and ecclesiastical character in his own person ! "He was sent into England," says Grainger, "in the double capacity of a *divine* and a *plenipotentiary* : he knew how to rouse the people to war, or negotiate a peace."

² See Mr Napier's admirable work on the "Life and Times of Montrose," p. 65.

siastic member, [Baillie,] a beacon to be avoided by every legal court and ecclesiastical community." When the whole business was at an end, Henderson exclaimed, "We have cast down the walls of Jericho; let him who rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite:" thus making himself a second Joshua, and denouncing a curse on the restorers of Episcopacy, as that inspired leader was directed to do on the rebuilders of idolatrous Jericho! In this manner were the civil and religious liberties of Scotland swept away by these insurgent presbyters and lay elders, in the course of twenty-nine days' sitting; and all under the mask of honouring God, and advancing the interests of pure religion. The parallel between the conduct of the rebellious nobles on this occasion, and that of Dathan and Abiram of old, "princes of the congregation," is very remarkable; and equally so between that of the presbyters and the Levites: and, as the earth swallowed up the former, and fire from the Lord burnt up the latter, so might it have been apprehended that, had the days of miraculous punishments not passed away, a like calamity would have been inflicted upon these men, for their shameless rebellion against their civil and ecclesiastical rulers.¹ Yet they suffered for it severely, even in this life, after Cromwell had subdued their country, overthrown their covenant, and subjugated their Kirk.

¹ "We glory in our relation to these men; we have the highest admiration of their character, attainments, and services; and we are every day more and more impressed with the truth and importance of all the leading principles for which they contended. We are persuaded that the great Head of the Church signally blest their efforts, not only in reforming the outward organization of the Church, but in converting sinners, and in promoting the interests of vital godliness." —*Presbyterian Review*, April 1839. This Review is conducted by the dominant party of the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland: and this very party, the year before, solemnly commemorated the second centenary of the outbreak of the rebellion! "Truly, ye bear witness to the deeds of your fathers."

But we must now return to the persecuted primate. In September this year, the king proposed to him to resign his office of chancellor, in consequence of the bad spirit of the times, but would not insist upon it if he chose to keep it. The archbishop consented, and received £2500 for the sacrifice which he made.¹ When he saw his countrymen plunging into rebellion, his sovereign insulted, the Church in Scotland overthrown, and himself and order proscribed, he thought it prudent to leave his country, where his person was no longer safe; and retired to Newcastle, depressed in spirits, and in a very infirm state of health. When he grew a little better, he proceeded to London; but there he soon became worse, and was visited by his friend Archbishop Laud, from whose hands he received the holy eucharist. Another person who visited him on his deathbed, was the celebrated Marquis of Hamilton, Commissioner to the late General Assembly at Glasgow, and a principal agent in advising his sovereign to those unlawful concessions to his subjects which ended in the ruin of them both. But I will allow the archbishop's biographer to relate the conversation which passed between them on this interesting occasion: "The marquis, coming near to his bedside, was pleased to say, 'I am come to kiss your lordship's hand, and humbly to ask your blessing;' to which the archbishop, with a soft voice, answered: 'My lord, you shall have my blessing; but give me leave to speak these few words to you. My lord, I visibly foresee that the Church and king are both in danger to be lost; and I am verily persuaded that there is none, under God, so able to prevent it as your lordship; and therefore I speak to you as a dying prelate, in the words of Mordecai to Esther: if you do it not, salva-

¹ Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, pp. 74, 76.

tion shall come somewhere else, but you and your house shall perish.' To whom the marquis made this worthy reply, that 'what he foresaw was his grief, and he wished from his heart he were able to do that which was expected from him, though it were to be done with the sacrificing of his life and fortunes.' After which, upon his knees, he received the archbishop's blessing, and departed. I shall make no commentary upon it; for the best interpreters of words are actions."

Spotswood died on the 29th November 1639. By command of the king, he was buried by torch-light in Westminster abbey, near the tomb of James VI. "The manner of his burial," says his biographer, "by the command and care of his religious king, was solemnly ordered; for the corpse being attended by many mourners, and at least eight hundred torches, and being brought near the abbey church of Westminster, the whole nobility of England and Scotland then present at court, with all the king's servants and many gentlemen, came out of their coaches, and conveyed the body to the west door, where it was met by the dean and prebendaries of that church in their clerical habits, and buried according to the solemn rites of the English Church, before the extermination of decent Christian burial was come in fashion." The following is a translation of the inscription on his tomb:

Sacred to the Memory
of Dominus JOHN SPOTSWOOD, Archbishop of St Andrews,
Primate of Scotland, and Chancellor of the kingdom.
20 years a Presbyter,
11 years Archbishop of Glasgow,
25 years Archbishop of St Andrews,
and 4 years Chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland.
He died in peace in 1639,
the 6th of the cal. of December,
the 16th year of Charles I.
and 74th of his age.

A prelate, a senator, almost a martyr,
 Than whom no one was more pious, more prudent, or more faithful.
 He contended, even till his latest breath,
 Against sacrilege, rebellion, and heresy,
 In defence of the Church, the king, and the orthodox faith ;
 And, as is the usual reward of such virtues,
 He endured confiscation and banishment.
 But in this urn he rests in peace.
 By the mouth of posterity he will be praised.
 In the presence of God he is rewarded.

Thus was this good man and exemplary prelate, who had been deposed and excommunicated by his infatuated countrymen, honourably interred by the members of the Church of England. His last will and testament contained the following words :—"As touching the government of the Church, I am verily persuaded that the government Episcopal is the only right and apostolic form ; parity among ministers being the breeder of all confusion, as experience might have taught. And for those ruling elders, as they are a mere human device, so they will prove, when the way is more open to them, the ruin of both Church and State." This prediction was abundantly confirmed by the disasters which followed.¹

It is due to the memory of Spotswood to state, that he built, at his own expense, the beautiful parish church of Dairsey, near St Andrews. This was sacrilegiously defaced after the overthrow of Episcopacy, but

¹ Nothing has tended to pervert the minds of the ill-informed in Scotland, in regard to the Christian priesthood, so much as the use of the word *elder*, and the persons who are thus designated by the Presbyterian establishment. A mere layman, who holds an office not unlike that of church-warden in England, is called an elder. We have no right to use a Scripture appellation, except in a Scripture sense. Now, every theologian knows, that this term is never in the New Testament given to any office-bearer in the Church, but to an *episcopally ordained priest* (*Presbyter—prestre—priest.*) To apply it, therefore, to a lay-officer, is a perversion of its meaning, and misleads the unwary on a subject of vital importance. The original word, as used in the Epistles, should never have been translated at all, but simply rendered *presbyter*, in which case the absurdity of applying it to a layman would have been at once apparent.

has lately, through the good taste of the neighbouring proprietors, been restored to its original state, excepting that the Presbyterian pulpit occupies the place of the altar.¹ Spotswood also wrote an excellent history of the Church of Scotland, to which I have had frequent occasion to refer; a history full of valuable materials, and written in a luminous and pleasing style. The author never affects a neutrality on the Episcopal and Presbyterian questions which he did not feel; but he betrays no bias, except in favour of "truth and soberness," and defends no principles but those of inflexible loyalty and primitive Christianity.²

Of the other Scottish bishops, eight were obliged to save themselves from personal violence by flight; three remained at home, and, to their everlasting disgrace, recanted, and from having been consecrated bishops, sank down to the rank of presbyters; and though, like the rest of the bishops, they had been deposed for every imaginable vice, and declared "infamous," no objection was made to their becoming parochial ministers in the newly-constituted Kirk. These were, Lindsay of Dunkeld, Graham of Orkney,³ and Fairley of Argyll. One bishop, Dr John Guthrie of Moray, would neither flee nor recant, but patiently endured excommunication, imprisonment, and other sufferings, and in the

¹ The arms of the pious founder, beautifully cut, are over the west door, with this inscription:—"Jehovah, dilexi decorem domus tue." It appears, from the "Records of the Synod of Fife," that in 1648, the bishop's archiepiscopal arms, the royal arms, a crosier, a cross, and the screen between the church and chancel, were ordered to be removed as "monuments of idolatry and superstition." There was an express injunction of the Synod to cut down the screen, so as to make it serve as *backs* for the adjacent pews!—Pp. 127, 129, 133, 146.

² Spotswood's archiepiscopal seal has upon it, St Andrew holding his cross before him, the family shield below, with the initials J. S., and the legend, "Sigillum R. D. Johannis archiepiscopi Sancti Andree."

³ Graham was rich, and recanted to save his estate from being confiscated.—*Keith's Catalogue, in loco*. See in Bishop Hall's "Divine Right of Episcopacy Asserted," that prelate's affecting apostrophe to Graham, for having abjured his episcopal office, p. 1.

midst of them all, maintained the apostolical institution of Episcopacy till his death.

I have remarked before, that Charles's great fault was to make unwarrantable concessions to his subjects, instead of taking his stand on some high constitutional ground, and resolving not to abandon it, but at the hazard of his life. It was this miserable weakness which led him to give his sanction to the acts of the General Assembly of 1638, though they aimed a deadly blow at his own sovereignty, and overthrew a church polity which he believed to be of divine appointment, and which he had solemnly sworn to uphold. His motive for thus acting seems to have been, to please his Scottish subjects, in the vain hope of securing their assistance against the English, who were by this time too closely following their rebellious example. Not only did he sanction the acts of this Assembly, but he loaded its principal members and promoters with titles and emoluments. And, what was worst of all, he displaced three of his staunch supporters, Hay, Elphinstone, and Spotswood, (the son of the late primate,) from official situations, in order to make room for others who were then his suspected, and afterwards became his avowed, enemies! But it was not long before he discovered the base ingratitude of these men, and was convinced, when too late, of the unwise policy of doing evil that good might come.

The first event of importance which took place in St Andrews, during the dismal period of the Grand Rebellion, was the dismissal from the parish church and university, of the Episcopal clergymen, Drs Wishart, Panther, Barron, and Gladstones, for the unpardonable sins of reading the Liturgy, preaching anti-Calvinism, and protesting against the Covenant; and the substitution, in their room, of the well-known "Scots worthies," Messrs Samuel Rutherford and Robert Blair. King Charles;

in his "Large Declaration,"¹ justly animadverts on the fact, that Blair, who had been expelled from the university of Glasgow some years before, for teaching that monarchical government was unlawful, should now be made Professor of Divinity in the "prime university of Scotland." These changes happened in October 1639. Of Blair and Rutherford we shall hear again; but a tribute to the memory of Dr Wishart deserves to be recorded here. For his attachment to the cause of loyalty and Episcopacy, he was more than once thrown into prison and treated with extreme severity. When the gallant Marquis of Montrose had swept away the force of the Covenanters, and was approaching Edinburgh in triumph, Wishart was one of a deputation of cavalier prisoners whom the terrified citizens sent to implore his clemency. From that time, he remained with the marquis as his chaplain, and subsequently wrote his life in elegant Latin—a work little valued in Scotland, but which was eagerly read, and went through many editions, on the Continent. The Covenanters, to show their hatred of this work, and how keenly they felt the truth of its statements, tied it round the neck of Montrose, when they afterwards executed him! Wishart then went abroad, and became chaplain to Elizabeth queen of Bohemia, with whom he came to England to visit her nephew Charles II., after his majesty's happy restoration. He had first the rectory of Newcastle conferred on him; and on the reëstablishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, he was made Bishop of Edinburgh, and consecrated at St Andrews in June 1662. In that situation, he distinguished himself by returning good for evil to his former enemies the Covenanters, and especially by his kindness to the captive insurgents, after

¹ P. 324.

their defeat at Pentland. He died in 1671, and is buried in the abbey church of Holyrood, where there is a handsome monument to his memory. The slanderous Wodrow, in raking up all imaginable calumnies against the Scottish bishops,¹ (founded either on no testimony whatever, or on that of avowed enemies,) says of Wishart, "The man could not refrain from profane swearing, even upon the street of Edinburgh, and he was a known drunkard." Even this does not satisfy him, for he adds, that "he finds it remarked *by a very good hand*, that the same bishop was the author of some indecent poems."²

1641. *March*.—A meeting of presbytery was held at St Andrews, the first act of which begins thus:—"The presbytery having taken to heart the abounding of all manner of sin, (notwithstanding of the great and glorious works the Lord has done, and is doing, towards us, and of our renewed and sworn covenant,) whereby the Lord is justly provoked, not only to break off the course of his great mercies towards us, but also to turn them into most fearful and terrible judgments; but especially having laid to heart the great dishonour done to the great name of God, which is fearful and glorious, holy and reverend, by blasphemy, swearing, cursing, banning, and idle naming of God; as also by the profanation of the Lord's holy Sabbath, by the contempt of God's word and worship, by drinking and tippling, by games and pastimes, &c.: therefore, has statuted and ordained, &c."³ This says very little

¹ He quotes with approbation this opinion of the bishops after the Restoration, (though there were among them some of the most distinguished men of that or any other age.) "They were like the kings of Israel, *not one of them good*, but all of them followers of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin." Even his own great authority, Gilbert Burnet, speaks most favourably of them as a body.

² Burns's edition of Wodrow, vol. i. p. 236.

³ Records of the Synod of Fife, p. 124. In 1648, things were in a much worse state.—Ibid. p. 159.

for the good fruits which no doubt were expected to arise from this "Second Reformation," and as little for the penetration of the presbytery in discovering the *true* sources of the national sins.

July.—A General Assembly of the Kirk was held here, Lord Wemyss being the king's commissioner. Mr Andrew Ramsay preached the first sermon, and Mr David Dickson the second; but Baillie, who was present, expresses his disapprobation of both, because they clashed, in some degree, with his church politics.¹ "After sermon," continues Baillie, "we mett *in the hall of the old colledge*. Mr Andrew did pray."—"A letter from his majestie to the Assembly, so full of grace and favour as we could have wished, was read." The only local affair that came before this Assembly was, a complaint from Dr Robert Howie, the principal of St Mary's, that "after his long service in the kirk and divinitie schools, he had been made to demitt his place by threats, in his extream old age and povertie. The case was very invidious, and reflected much on his colleagues in the town and new colledge." In all probability, one of his opponents was Rutherford, who, in six years after, succeeded him as principal. And certainly they must have had something plausible to urge against him, since this was the third time he had vacillated between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. The old man would have been roughly dealt with, had not his friend Henderson interposed in his favour. After a few days, the Assembly agreed to transfer its sitting to Edinburgh, for the greater conveniency of members. There they discussed the progress of Brownist or Independent principles, which were beginning at this time to disturb the unity of the Kirk. The Independents were acting the same intemperate part

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 359, new edition.

against the Presbyterians, which the latter had recently acted against the Episcopalians. Rutherford wrote a book against granting toleration to them and other sectaries, and in this he was joined by all the leading Presbyterians both in England and Scotland. Orme, in his *Life of Owen*, says, "certainly, the worst feature of Presbytery at this time—that which excited the greatest attention, and which ultimately ruined the body—was its intolerance, or determined and persecuting hostility to liberty of conscience."

Episcopacy being now virtually abolished in Scotland, the king was persuaded to make over the archiepiscopal revenues of St Andrews to the university of the city. Here was sacrilege following close upon the heels of rebellion.

1642. In July this year, the General Assembly of the Kirk met at St Andrews, "in other words," says Mr Mark Napier, "the Marquis of Argyll's conclave of agitation and revolution." Henderson preached the opening sermon, from the text 2 Cor. vi. 3. "He taxed freely the vices of his own order, and warned his hearers against the dangers of Independence."¹ He could not see the beam in his own eye. The Earl of Dunfermline was the royal commissioner, who presented his master's letter to the Assembly, "craving no more, in recompense for his favours, but that the ministers would, by their doctrine and example, labour to keep his subjects to their duty." He little knew the real character of the men he was addressing. At first, the Assembly resolved to return his majesty a letter of thanks, with a promise of obedience to his most reasonable demand. But it so happened, that the very next day, they got accounts from the English parliament that they had begun to

¹ Aiton's *Life of Henderson*, p. 486.

exert themselves with vigour against the church and the king. This induced them to pause, and reconsider, and finally to reverse their first intentions. At this Assembly the Marquis of Hamilton assisted, who possessed and betrayed the confidence of his unsuspecting sovereign, and plotted with Argyll those treasonable councils which ended in the ruin of them all. Here, too, came another traitor, William Murray of the king's bed-chamber, to assist his master's enemies. "Being of his majesty's bed-chamber," says Dr Aiton, "he possessed means of information, which it was *disgraceful to employ*." There was an extreme intimacy between Murray and Henderson; so much indeed, that the rigorous portion of the Covenanters were suspicious, from this circumstance, that Henderson would desert from their interest. But, like an *acute politician*, he was all the while deriving the most essential benefit from this intercourse." What an acknowledgment from the Presbyterian biographer and defender of the pious Henderson! It proves to demonstration that the Covenanters thought the most "disgraceful means" justifiable, if thereby they could attain their ends. Even the best men can never know what errors they may be led to commit, when once they place themselves in a false position. Their only safe and honourable course is to admit their fault and retrace their steps. But how seldom is this done! The result of all this intriguing and double-dealing was, that Lord Maitland (afterwards the celebrated Duke of Lauderdale of thumb-screw notoriety) was despatched by the Assembly to encourage the English parliament to take up arms against their common sovereign, who was all the

¹ It is known that he took the most private letters out of Charles's bureau, and sent copies of them to the leading Covenanters.—See the *Life of Henderson*, p. 80.

while using his utmost endeavours to pacify and conciliate them. But it may be proper here to give the letter which the Earl of Dunfermline wrote to the king from St Andrews, and which he sent off before Lord Maitland left the city:—" Most dread sovereign ; Whether matters please or not, I must, according to your majesty's trust, make a true and timeous relation ; knowing that your majesty will put no more of all that is done, upon my attempts, but that which I assent unto in your majesty's name. The Assembly hath made choice of the Lord Maitland to be the bearer of this answer to the declaration sent from the parliament, and of their supplication to your majesty, which I could not hinder. He is directed to go first to your majesty with them, and then go to the parliament ; of which I conceive it necessary to give your majesty timeous advertisement ; that, before his coming, your majesty may, in your royal wisdom, consider whether it be more for your majesty's service, that he be stayed, or permitted to go forward : both which, in my weak judgment, have their inconveniencies ; for his stay may be evil construed here, and his going may prove prejudicial to your majesty's service ; for certainly, if he had no other business, they would send another bearer ; and I know they have sent it [the letter] to their commissioners already. Whatever be the impression your majesty receives of my carriage, I wish to God that I may no longer live than I continue your most sacred majesty's obedient servant,

" DUNFERMLINE.

" *St Andrews, 5th August, 1642.*"

By this time, the General Assembly had become the supreme and uncontrolled court of Scotland, into which the nobility got themselves admitted in the capacity of *ruling elders*, that they might the more easily carry on

their political intrigues; and, by humouring the Presbyterian ministers, rule both king and commons at their pleasure. The Marquis of Argyll was present on this occasion, as an humble elder from the Presbytery of Inverary. "When this Assembly rose," says Dr Aiton, "the *Commission*, which now became a constant judicature invested with ample powers, carried on matters with as high a hand as ever."¹ It is sufficiently evident from all this, that the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Puritans had already marked the king for their prey, and that neither conciliation nor concession could save him from their fangs.

The same year, Mr Andrew Affleck, minister of Largo, was nominated one of the ministers of St Andrews, a man who was a great favourite with the people; but the majority of the presbytery, among whom were Rutherford and Blair, refused, for some private reasons, to concur in his settlement. This so enraged the inhabitants against Rutherford, who was known to hold the right of the people to choose their own minister, that, finding his situation in St Andrews disagreeable, he petitioned the General Assembly to remove him to a country parish. To this, however, they refused to agree.²

1643. *January*. Mr Robert Norrie professor of Humanity in St Leonard's college, was "dealt with" by Messrs Robert Blair and Samuel Rutherford, by order of the presbytery, for saying in a sermon, that "such is the corruption of men, that kings, for the most part, have more critics than good subjects; who take upon them to censure, not only their public actions, but even their private and domestic affairs, yea their very thoughts and intentions." These reve-

¹ P. 491. One might almost suppose this had reference to the years 1838—1843.

² Murray's *Life of Rutherford*, p. 188.

rend gentlemen, no doubt, felt that the cap fitted them.

August. “ Mr D. Monro, the moderator of the presbytery, Mr J. Wood, and Mr R. Wilky, to go to West Anstruther to *see the execution of some witches there*; and to go to East Anstruther and Crail to speak with some that are apprehended for witches.” Also, “ The moderator, Mr J. Bruce, and Mr J. Wood, are appointed to speak to those who *are apprehended for witches in St Andrews*, and to attend the *execution of two witches* on Friday next.” Farther, “ Messrs Forrest, Wood, and Traill are appointed to speak to some lately *apprehended in St Andrews*, to see if they can bring them to any confession.”

September. “ One Gudlad of St Andrews, for riding on a Sunday, to try and persuade Lord Burghley ” to release one Margaret Balfour suspected of witchcraft, “ is appointed to obey what the kirk-session shall enjoin him to do,” for breaking the Sabbath.¹

¹ See Records of the Presbyteries of St Andrews and Cupar, *in locis*. This curious volume has recently been printed by the Abbotsford Club. The period embraced is almost exclusively that of the Grand Rebellion. The examples of the inquisitorial and intolerant conduct of the ministers of that age almost exceed belief. The orders of the presbytery for certain members of their body to be present at the execution of witches within their bounds, are too numerous to be inserted here, though we have not the particulars of those executions. No less numerous are the rigid inquiries that are enjoined to be made into cases of *malignancy*, and also, of those who had been reported to have uttered anything disrespectful of their ecclesiastical rulers. The other offences visited by the malediction of the presbytery were,—fornication, which seems to have been peculiarly prevalent,—digging graves on a Sunday,—the superstitious, though surely very harmless, custom of extinguishing fires on a Midsummer night,—a seventh son touching those afflicted with the king's evil, &c. The usual punishments for such offences were fine, imprisonment, public confession in the church on their bare knees, clothed in sackcloth, exclusion from the *covenant* and *communion*, &c.; and these punishments were inflicted upon both sexes, and upon all ranks, from the peer to the peasant! The following may give the reader some idea of the kind of cases which came before the reverend presbyteries at this period.

One Andrew Patrick, a tailor, coming home late one night from the

The same year, the celebrated Assembly of Divines met at Westminster. This motley group consisted of four barons, sixteen members of the rebel parliament, and one hundred and eighteen preachers and lay elders, of various denominations, but chiefly Presbyterians. A few Episcopal divines were invited to assist; but they soon quitted the Assembly in disgust, excepting one or two who remained to observe its proceedings. The Scottish members were, Samuel Rutherford, the well-known author of certain "Letters," which I may characterize hereafter, and of "Lex Rex," which was afterwards ordered to be burnt by the common hangman for its seditious doctrines; Lord Cassillis, and Messrs Baillie and Douglas, remarkable for their opposition to Charles I. and all who adhered

country, in March 1649, near Cupar, and half drunk by his own confession, "saw seven or eight women dancing, with a meikle man in the midst of them, who did wear towards him till they came to a little loch, into which they put him up till the shoulder blaida." Among these women was Elspet Seith, who had been previously suspected of witchcraft. It ought to be observed here, that this fresh evidence of Elspet's guilt did not transpire till many months after the event occurred; but when it did, the Presbytery of Cupar was summoned to inquire into it. The proceedings in this one case occupy twelve quarto printed pages!—(*Records*, pp. 136-141, 145, 154.) The above Andrew Patrick, and witnesses from all quarters, were examined and reexamined at different times, with a view to elicit proofs of Elspet's dealings with the devil. Andrew, being asked if he had any other proofs of her guilt, answered, that "one morning he saw her in the country, and he had a little dog who barked despitefully at her. She desired him to stay the dog. He answered, I would it would worry you. Thereafter the dog never eated." This anecdote shows clearly that Andrew had a spite against Elspet, which should have caused his accusation of her to be discredited. But not so thought the reverend presbytery, who seem to have had as great a spite against the poor woman as Andrew had. Even the Synod of Fife interfered, and evinced their hatred of the suspected witch so much, that they "ordained the Presbytery of Cupar, in their several pulpits to desire all who had any delations to give in against Elspet Seith, suspect of witchcraft, to declare the same;" thus encouraging informers to come forward to give testimony against her. One of these informers was Jean Bruise. She stated, that Elspet one day said to her sister, "Is your cow calfed?" to which the girl replied, "Know ye not that

to him; George Gillespie, who wrote a book against granting toleration to sectaries, and yet afterwards, if we may believe Burnet, corresponded with them for the destruction of the king; Alexander Henderson, who subsequently saw, and repented of his error; Lord Maitland, who became so notorious, after the Restoration, for his persecution of the Covenanters; and lastly, Johnston of Warriston, who was afterwards most deservedly hanged for high treason. It would be foreign to my purpose to say much about this far-famed Assembly; yet I cannot avoid observing, that it is difficult to conceive anything more opposite than were its decisions, to those of the great general councils of the early ages, on almost every point of doctrine and church polity that can be named. I will not

our cow is calfed?" Elspet remarked, "There is milk be-west, and milk be-east, and ale in David Stennous' house, and a hungry heart can get nane of it. The dell put his foot amang it." The cow soon after lost its appetite; upon which they applied to Elspet to cure it, which she did by giving it some seeds. "And the said Jean Bruise affirms that Elspet went in to see the cow, and laid her hand upon its back, and said, Lamby, lamby, ye'll be weel enough; and from that time the cow amended." It should be remarked here, that curing a cow was reckoned as a great a proof of witchcraft as sickening it.

But it is needless to go farther into the particulars of this foolish and disgusting affair, the real merits of which were obvious to any one not blinded by religious rancour, namely, that the said Andrew had fallen into a pond when he was tipsy, and took it into his head, eighteen months after, to charge his calamity upon Elspet, against whom he had had a previous antipathy. The presbytery urged the magistrates of Cupar to put this persecuted woman "into a close prison, *take off her hand*, and watch her at her own expense." The magistrates, more humane than the ministers, answered, that they had no objections to putting her into the "thieffes-holl," but would do nothing more. The presbytery, not satisfied with this, applied to the Committee of Estates "to cause the town of Cupar concur for trying of her, and cause them to watch her;" and at the same time, they applied to their brethren of St Andrews to assist them in this inhuman prosecution. The fortunate result was, that as the town of Cupar persisted in refusing to move farther in the business, "and not finding it possible," say the Records, "to get her otherwise tried, the presbytery having called her before them, did ordain her, like as she promised, to compear again whenever she should be required."

speak of its Calvinism, its Erastianism, and its hostility to an apostolical episcopacy, which would be more than enough to condemn it; but I may remark that, under the head of the article, "The Form of Church Government," the utmost confusion prevails on the all-important subject of ordination. Mention is repeatedly made, of "the preaching presbyters to whom ordination doth belong," but who they are is not defined. They admit the validity of the Church of England orders, and yet they vow the extirpation of the bishops who conferred them! And to show their contempt of all rule, they add that, seeing they lived in extraordinary times, they conceived an extraordinary method of ordaining might be adopted, "for the present supply of ministers." When we see a whole body of professing Christians falling into such confusion and contradiction on so essential a point as the ordination of the priesthood; and couple with this the fact of their being, at the time, in a state of rebellion against their lawful sovereign, it affords just ground to question how far they belonged to that Church which Christ promised to be with always; and how far, therefore, the religious standards which they promulgated could be in conformity with His will.

This year also, the "Solemn League and Covenant" was drawn up and enforced upon all the inhabitants of Great Britain under the severest penalties. The subscribers to this bond thus style themselves: "We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burghesses, *ministers of the Gospel*, and commons of all sorts;"—where we cannot help noticing the very inferior rank assigned to the ministers, who, in fact, had become mere tools in the hands of their superiors. The document proceeds to "extirpate prelacy," but cautiously abstains, through fear of clashing with the English sectaries, from saying what it will establish

instead of it; only it "will adhere to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches;" a convenient ambiguity, which might suit any circumstances: and hence the sectaries, when they afterwards quarrelled with the Presbyterians, affirmed that Independentism was most agreeable to "the word of God;" while the Presbyterians as stoutly contended that their system was nearest the example of "the best Reformed Churches." But though they were not prepared to say what ought to be substituted for Episcopacy, "They will endeavour (they add) to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion." By this uniformity, the Scots meant Presbyterianism, though they did not as yet venture openly to say so. Next comes the persecuting clause directed against royalists and Episcopalians: "We will also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendiaries, *malignants*, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion; dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another; or making any faction or parties among the people contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be *brought to trial, and receive condign punishment*, as the degree of their offences shall deserve:" and how much of the best blood of the land they shed, on the strength of this intolerant clause, we shall see in the sequel. They subjoin, that "they have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness," at the very time they were in arms against him, and trying to force him to yield up his lawful prerogatives, to violate his conscience, and to sanction their rebellion. Such was the public excitement got up in favour of this document that many declared that, sooner than abate one syllable of it, they would renounce their *baptism*; and

the General Assembly decreed, a few years after, that every one should subscribe it on his first coming to partake of the *Lord's Supper*!¹ Nay, they who refused their assent to it were to suffer "confiscation of goods, and what farther punishment *his majesty* and the parliament should inflict upon them;" at the very time that they knew his majesty had publicly prohibited his subjects from subscribing it.² They seem to have tried how far they could possibly carry their disloyalty and intolerance.

This covenant they not only enforced in both kingdoms with the utmost severity, but they even appear to have entertained the wild notion of extending it to foreign countries; for in the "Preface" to the document, which is signed by Sir Archibald Johnston, it is spoken of as "the most powerful means, by the blessing of God, for settling and preserving the true Protestant religion with perfect peace in his majesty's dominions, and *propagating the same to other nations*." And when they afterwards fell into new troubles, they were so far from ascribing them to their real cause, the will-worship of their idol-covenant, that they ascribed them to their not having acted up to its requirements with sufficient rigour!

The next year, the General Assembly passed an act in these words:—"And because scholars and students give great scandal and offence in keeping of Yule and

¹ In the library of this university, there is a thin quarto volume, containing a printed copy of the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, with 971 written signatures of the inhabitants of St Andrews attached to it. In the same volume are the names of those who renewed the League, "on the Lord's day, 31st December, 1648." Many of these, however, are in the same hand-writing. The signatures of the professors and students of St Salvator's and St Mary's colleges are given, but not those of St Leonard's.

² Eight thousand clergymen were turned out of their livings in England for refusing to sign this covenant, and their places supplied by fanatical preachers of all denominations.

other superstitious days, it is unanimously concluded, and hereby ordered, that they, being found guilty, shall be *severely chastised* therefor, by their masters, &c." In the Records of the Synod of Fife, "obstinate persons refusing to work on Yule day," are ranked with "drinkers and swearers," and commanded to be censured accordingly.¹ Easter day was required to be observed as a rigid *fast*, at Aberdeen, by Andrew Cant and his coadjutors, who even sent elders to search the private houses to see that no meat was cooked.² And about the same time was introduced the practice of administering the Lord's supper, with long week-day preparatory "preachings," and assistance from neighbouring ministers, to the neglect, very often, of their own parishes. The object seems to have been, to depart as widely as possible, in every thing, from the practice of the Church Catholic for the first fifteen centuries of its existence.

Heavy contributions, both of men and money, were raised from the towns of Scotland, to enable them to carry on the war against the king. The following table, while it shows the great expense which rebellion invariably entails on those who are guilty of it, exhibits, at the same time, the place which St Andrews then occupied, as compared with other towns.

	Sum monthly.			Men.
Edinburgh, . . .	£5166	.	.	574
Dundee, . . .	1674	.	.	180
Aberdeen, . . .	1440	.	.	160
Glasgow, . . .	990	.	.	110
Perth, . . .	990	.	.	110
St Andrews, . . .	540	.	.	60
Kirkcaldy, . . .	414	.	.	40
Stirling, . . .	324	.	.	36
Cupar, . . .	216	.	.	24
Dunfermline, . . .	108	.	.	12

¹ P. 168.

² See a curious account of this in Spalding's "History of the Troubles," vol. ii. p. 311.

There was a time when St Andrews would have ranked first in this list: it is now at the bottom! It has sunk as rapidly as the other towns have risen.

1645. *January*. "Mr John Barron, and Mr James Bruce, are appointed to join with the magistrates of St Andrews, and the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay's deputes, in revising the particulars that are against some *incarcerate for witches in St Andrews*, and give their advice thereanent."¹ We hear no more of these witches.

May. One Thomas Bonar was imprisoned fifteen days in the tolbooth of St Andrews, for singing a *malignant song* in favour of the king and the Marquis of Montrose, and then obliged to make a public confession of his "great miscarriage" in the kirks of Kilrenny and Kilconquhar, and find caution for his better behaviour in future.² Loyalty had now become a crime.

September. A public thanksgiving to God was ordered "for the late wonderful and glorious victory at Philiphaugh, over the *rebels*;" they themselves being at the time in open rebellion against their king.³

We have now to record the execution, at St Andrews, (martyrdom we might justly call it,) of several loyal noblemen and gentlemen, who had been taken prisoners at the above unfortunate action at Philiphaugh, when fighting in the cause of their king, under the command of the gallant Marquis of Montrose, his majesty's Lieutenant-general for Scotland. This high-minded and truly patriotic nobleman had been led away, in the first instance, by the stream in favour (not of the Solemn League and Covenant, which he never would acknowledge, but) of the National Covenant of 1638; and had, as we have already seen, marched a

¹ Records of the Presbytery, p. 23.

² Ibid. p. 25.

³ Ibid. p. 32.

military force to Aberdeen, in order to convert the learned university and loyal inhabitants of that ancient city to its principles. But no sooner did he discover that the Covenanters were aiming at the overthrow of the throne as well as of the altar, than he immediately withdrew from their councils, raised the king's standard in the Highlands, and attracted around it all that remained of the well-affected and right-thinking part of the community.¹ The defeat at Philiphaugh was the only one which this brave commander ever sustained from the Covenanters; but by it, he lost the fruit of six previous victories; and what added to the grief and indignation of all good men was, that, while the better class of prisoners were reserved to undergo a mock trial, and to be publicly hanged or beheaded, several hundreds of the inferior ranks, who had surrendered on a promise of their lives being spared, were immediately after slaughtered in cold blood; and that too, at the instigation of the ministers who accompanied the covenanting army.² "They displayed," says Dr Cook, "a savage violence, which justly deserves the reprobation of posterity. Not only were those who fled from battle inhumanly massacred, but after all danger was past, many of the prisoners were put to death." Two hundred and fifty Irish soldiers were massacred on the spot, and fifty more on their march to Linlithgow. Besides these, three or four hundred, consisting chiefly of the wives and camp-followers of the royalist army, many of whom were big with child, were butchered without

¹ See not only *Memoirs of Montrose* by his chaplain, Dr Wishart, but a more recent and most interesting life of the same hero, by Mr Mark Napier, advocate; in which his memory is triumphantly exonerated from the calumnies with which covenanting writers had loaded it, and which subsequent historians had repeated on their testimony, without sufficient inquiry into the truth of the statements.

² Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 203.

mercy.¹ "This picture," says Mr Napier, "is awfully darkened by the fact, that from the Bible itself these ministers of blood enforced such scenes—'thine eye shall not pity, and thou shalt not spare;' and, 'what meaneth this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen'—by which, on this and some other occasions, they diverted from the defenceless prisoners the rude mercies of the soldiers, already weary of blood."

Before the battle of Philiphaugh, the General Assembly of the Kirk, impatient for the execution of some royalists whom they had in their custody, sent Messrs Guthrie, Gillespie, Dick, Blair, and Cant (all "Scots worthies"!) to press this measure upon the parliament. This the parliament commended as an act "of great piety and zeal," yet deferred the performance till Montrose should be subdued, lest otherwise he might retaliate upon them. Almost immediately after, the Synod of Fife, to show *their* "piety and zeal" in the same cause, "supplicated the Committee of Estates that justice be done upon such of the rebels as God hath put into their hands."² What a frightful picture of human nature, to find these ministers, who were all this while affecting the *ne plus ultra* of Evangelism, calling upon the civil power to take the lives of defenceless prisoners, because they had been engaged in loyally protecting the best of kings from the machinations of his merciless enemies! At length, accordingly, when they had no longer anything to fear from Montrose, they proceeded in their bloody business.

At Edinburgh, General Hurry, Captain John Spotswood of Dairsey, Hay of Dalgetty, William Sibbald, a Mr Charter, and two Irish officers, O'Kyan and

¹ Napier's *Life and Times of Montrose*, p. 531.

² *Records*, p. 145.

Lochlin,—and at Glasgow, Sir W. Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy younger of Inverquharity, (a youth of only eighteen years of age,) were sentenced to be beheaded. It was on this occasion that Mr David Dick exclaimed with delight, “The wark goes bonnily on.” But this reverend gentleman did not probably think “the wark” went on so “bonnily” when, seven years after, being moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk, then sitting in Edinburgh, that body was, by Cromwell’s order, rudely broken in upon, in the midst of their deliberations, by armed soldiers, the members drummed out of the city, and forbid to meet again without his special permission.

At St Andrews, the same bloody scenes were exhibited. The prisoners had been incarcerated in the castle, where two hundred soldiers were placed to guard them; but as the provost and bailies had not provided room enough there for all the prisoners, they were obliged to accommodate the surplus in their own houses, and to be answerable for the safe custody of their persons, at their peril.¹

Lord Ogilvy, Lord Hartfell, Colonel N. Gordon, Sir Robert Spotswood, Captain Guthrie, and the Honourable W. Murray, were tried in what is now the university library, and sentenced to be beheaded, for the unpardonable crime of opposing the Covenant, and being true to their king!

But I must enter more particularly into the transactions of this celebrated session of the Scottish parliament. The day of meeting was Wednesday the 26th November, and it did not terminate till the 6th of February following. The nobility present were, Lords—Crawford and Lindsay president, Argyll,

¹ Sir James Balfour’s Annals, *in loco*.

Errol, Mar, Buchan, Cassillis, Perth, Haddington, Wemyss, Dalhousie, Findlater, Lanrick, Callender, Yester, Cardross, and Burghley. Besides these, there were thirty-nine commissioners of shires, and twenty-five commissioners of burghs. Mr Robert Blair opened the proceedings by a sermon on the 101st Psalm, the last verse of which is, "I will destroy all the wicked of the land, that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord." He was followed by Messrs Robert Douglas and Andrew Cant, the purport of whose sermons was, that God would not be pacified without having the blood of the malignant prisoners; and that the sins of the nation could not in any other way be expiated!¹ On the same day, Sir Archibald Johnston, who, with Argyll, was the principal leader of the movement, made a long harangue to the parliament, entreating them to unity among themselves, to lay aside all private interests, and to do *justice upon delinquents and malignants*; showing, that their delaying formerly had provoked God's two great judgments against them,—the sword and the pestilence, which had ploughed up the land with deep furrows. He showed also, that the massacre of Kilsyth was never to be forgotten; and that God, who was the Judge of the world, would not but judge righteously, and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood which lay before his throne, crying for vengeance on these *blood-thirsty rebels*.² In order to ensure this

¹ Sermons of the same sanguinary character were preached during the session by David Dick, William Bennet, &c., besides the preachers mentioned above. *Sunday*, the 4th January, 1646, was appointed as a "day of fast and public humiliation," with sermons from Messrs Bennet, Douglas, and Cant. Douglas's texts were of a very significant description, viz., Isaiah x. 25, and Jeremiah xxxi. 30.

² What Johnston is here pleased to call a "massacre" was, in fact, the number of dastardly Covenanters who were killed in flying from the field of Kilsyth before a mere handful of loyal Highlanders. As to the phrase "blood-thirsty rebels," let the reader judge to which of

“unity among themselves,” he concluded by proposing a strict inquiry into the conduct of the individual members of the house, “that the several Estates might consider what corrupted members were among them, who had complied with the public enemy, either by themselves, or by their agents or friends.” This meant, that every effort should be made to wipe away any remains of humanity and loyalty which might be found to exist among the members of the house, lest they should prove an obstacle to the sanguinary measures which he contemplated.¹

There was a vast variety of business which came before this parliament, which it would be useless and tedious to detail. I will therefore only mention two of its acts, before proceeding to the circumstances attendant on the execution of the royalist prisoners. These were, that “no libels, pamphlets, or histories be printed or published concerning the kingdom or state, without warrant of the principal secretary of state, parliament, or privy council;” and that “no books of divinity be printed or reprinted, or concerning church affairs, without the warrant of the General Assembly or Commissioners of the Kirk.” These acts were “read, voted, and passed” without opposition. The members felt, no doubt, that the liberty of the press would have been an obstacle to their arbitrary

the two contending parties it was most applicable. Montrose, it is well known, never put to death a prisoner, as Johnston was now recommending this parliament to do.

¹ The following encomium on this Johnston has lately been published by a living author :—“He belonged to a class rarely to be met with now; he was a religious politician. The standard of his policy was the Word of God; his great and governing aim, the divine glory. And, on this account, his name has suffered obloquy from a quarter whence all who would follow his steps may expect similar treatment, so long as society is composed, as it still is to such an alarming extent, of the godless and unbelieving.”—*McCrie's Sketches*, p. 412. Any comment on this would spoil it.

political proceedings, as well as to the puritanical dogmas on which they were based.

On the 4th December, a petition was sent to the house by the prisoners in the castle, requesting that "they may be proceeded against, not by a committee, but that they be judged either by their peers, the Justice-general, or before the whole parliament; and, moreover, praying exemption from the jurisdiction of the procurator Sir A. Johnston;" well knowing that they could have no chance of mercy so long as his evil genius controlled the decisions of the house. But these most constitutional requests were repelled,—a sure omen of what was to come.

The day following, a "remonstrance" from the General Assembly of the Kirk was read to the house, praying for "*justice upon delinquents and malignants who have shed the blood of their brethren;*" and at the same time it was so contrived, that four petitions to the same effect, from the most rabid counties in Scotland, were presented by two hundred individuals. To these, the president, after private consultation, was desired to make answer, "That the parliament took their *modest petitions and seasonable remonstrances* very kindly, and rendered them hearty thanks, and willed them to be confident, and that with all alacrity and diligence they would go about and proceed in answering the expectation of all their reasonable desires, as they might perceive in their procedure hitherto; *and withal he entreated them, in the name of the house, that they would be earnest with God, to implore and beg his blessing to assist and encourage them to the performance of what they demanded.*" I will venture to say that the history of the Inquisition itself cannot furnish anything to match this compound of cruelty, hypocrisy, and blasphemy.

On the 23d December, all that remained of the

soldiers and followers of the Irish regiments at Philiphaugh were thus summarily disposed of :—" The house ordains the Irish prisoners taken at and after Philiphaugh, in all prisons of the kingdom, especially in the prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Perth, *to be executed without any assize or process, conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms.*" It is astonishing how they could have found persons willing to commit such cold-blooded murders. But the "Covenant" seems by this time to have nearly extinguished every humane and honourable feeling in the nation. These proceedings remind one of the most atrocious scenes of the French Revolution.

On Christmas day, these religionists " met in committees before noon, and in bodies at four o'clock." Their transaction of business on this holy day was meant, no doubt, to show their hatred of superstition. While the rest of the Christian world were very differently employed, they were plotting the destruction of better men than themselves.

Next day, the General Assembly, impatient for blood, presented a *second* " remonstrance;"! in reply to which, the parliament promised " to do justice on delinquents, to prosecute the enemies of the commonwealth, and to endeavour the establishment of truth and peace."

Matters being now ripe, they proceeded, without farther delay, to the *denouement* of the tragedy; but meanwhile Lord Ogilvy had the good fortune to make his escape out of the castle, which was effected by the following stratagem :—He pretended to be sick, and applied for permission to his mother and sisters to visit him in prison. This favour he obtained with some difficulty, through the interest of the Hamiltons, to whose family he was related, and of Lord Lindsay who was his cousin. After his friends

had got admittance to him, and the guards had retired, he dressed himself in the clothes of one of his sisters; she, at the same time, putting on his night-cap and lying down in his bed. After mutually taking leave, the party quitted the castle late in the evening, apparently in great distress, covering their faces with their handkerchiefs; and thus, disguised as a female, Lord Ogilvy deceived his guards, and got safely out. He immediately left the town; and having horses and servants waiting for him in the suburbs, rode off with all speed, and was out of danger before day-break. Next morning, when the stratagem was discovered, the Covenanters were enraged beyond measure, and particularly the Marquis of Argyll, at being deprived of the satisfaction which they had proposed to themselves from the execution of one of the keenest of their enemies; so much so, that they insisted on the immediate punishment of the ladies who were accessory to the fraud. But from this the latter were protected by the Hamiltons and Lord Lindsay, with whose privacy, it was generally thought, the whole affair had been conducted. The only revenge Argyll could take, was to procure a pardon for Lord Hartfell, for no better reason than because he knew him to be particularly obnoxious to the Hamiltons.

The parliament now set about, in good earnest, to take the lives of the rest of their victims. Yet there was not a complete unanimity among the peers as to the punishment to be inflicted on each prisoner; and had it not been for their fear of offending their vindictive leaders, Argyll and Johnston, they would have let some of them escape with an inferior punishment. Quarter had been promised them; and though this plea was overruled by the majority, yet, in regard to it, the Earls of Dunfermline, Cassillis, Lanrick, and Carnwath, were "not clear." The Earl of Tullibar-

dine made a feeble effort to save his brother, the Honourable William Murray, and several of the lords voted for his perpetual imprisonment. But their endeavours were unsuccessful.

The celebrated instrument of execution, called the "Maiden," was sent for from Dundee, where it happened to be at this time, and brought to St Andrews, to behead the prisoners. The following is a copy of the order for its removal :—" Decimo sexto Januarii 1646—38 die Parl. at St Andrews. The Estates of Parliament give hereby warrand to transport the Maiden from Dundee to St Androis, and ordains the magistrates of Dundee to delyver the Maiden to sic as sall be sent from the town of St Androis for transportation thereof. Quhairanent thir presents sall be ane warrand."

The day before the execution, young Cameron of Lochiel, who was under the guardianship of Argyll, and at this time with him in St Andrews, paid a secret visit to the prisoners in the castle; and was so won by the conversation he held with Sir R. Spotswood, that he became from that time, and through a long and eventful life continued, a faithful adherent of the royal family.¹

The first prisoner who suffered was Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, "a man," says Wishart, "of excellent endowments both of body and mind;" and whom a high authority of our own times, (Sir W. Scott,) pronounces to have been "one of the bravest men and best soldiers in Europe." With him they joined Captain A. Guthrie, son of the Bishop of Moray—a venerable prelate who had suffered every indignity at the hands of the Covenanters, for his adherence to Episcopacy. Cap-

¹ See in Appendix XLVII., an interesting account of this conversation, as extracted from the "Memoirs of Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel," recently printed for the Abbotsford Club.

tain Guthrie said on the scaffold, that "he reckoned it the greatest honour he could receive, to suffer death in behalf of so good a king, and in defence of so just a cause. For his sins he humbly begged mercy and forgiveness at the hands of God ; but with respect to that for which he stood condemned, he felt no apprehensions." The next object of their vengeance was the Honourable W. Murray, who was not more than nineteen years of age. In addressing the multitude, this noble youth expressed his hope that the House of Murray would that day acquire a new renown, by his premature death in so righteous a cause. "Let not my honoured mother," he added, "my dearest sisters, my kindred, or my friends, lament the shortness of my life, seeing it is abundantly compensated by the honour of my death. Pray for my soul, and God be with you." But their chief victim was Sir R. Spotswood, a civilian, and son of the late Archbishop of St Andrews—a man deserving of everlasting remembrance for his piety, eloquence, and profound learning. "The only crimes," says Wishart, "which his enemies could lay to his charge, were, his accepting the office of secretary of state from the king without the consent of parliament, and his bringing his majesty's commission to Montrose, constituting him Lieutenant-governor and Captain-general of the kingdom,"—services which his duty to his sovereign laid him under an indispensable obligation to perform.

"When he was brought to the scaffold," continues our author, "he appeared with the same gravity and majesty which was familiar to him, and turned with great composure to speak to the people ; but Blair the minister, who officiously attended him on the scaffold, being afraid lest he might lay open the secrets of the rebellion, and that the firm and steady behaviour, and the eloquence and gravity of the last and dying

words of so great a man, might leave a deep impression on the minds of the hearers, caused the provost of the town, who had formerly been a servant of Sir Robert's father, to impose silence upon him. This unmannerly interruption gave him no disturbance; only, instead of addressing himself to the people, he turned his thoughts entirely to his private devotions. And in these also he was again most impertinently and rudely interrupted by Blair, who asked him whether he would incline that he and the people should pray for the salvation of his soul? To which he answered, that he desired the prayers of the people, but would have no concern with his prayers, which he believed were impious, and an abomination unto God; adding, that of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had scourged this nation, this was certainly by far the greatest—greater than even the sword, fire, or pestilence—that *for the sins of the people God had sent a lying spirit into the mouths of the prophets*. Blair was touched to the quick with this severe but just reproach, and fell into such a passion, that he could not refrain from throwing out the most scandalous and contumelious reflections, not only against Sir Robert's father, who had been long dead, but against himself, who was just about to die; thereby approving himself a worthy preacher of Christian patience and long-suffering! But Sir Robert, having his mind intent upon higher matters, took no notice of them, and bore them with the greatest meekness and resignation. At last, with an undaunted air, and showing no alteration either in voice or countenance, he submitted his neck to the fatal stroke, and uttered these his last words, 'Merciful Jesus, gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs, who have run before me in this race.' And, certainly, seeing martyrdom may be undergone, not only for the confession of our faith, but for any virtue

by which holy men manifest their faith to the world, there is no doubt but he hath received that crown.

“Such was the fatal end of this great man—highly honourable indeed to himself, but extremely lamented by all good men. He was remarkable for his deep knowledge of things, both divine and human; for his skill in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic, besides the Western languages, and an intimate acquaintance with history, law, and politics. He was the honour and ornament of his country and the age, for the integrity of his life, for his fidelity, for his justice, and for his constancy. He was a man of an even temper, ever consistent with himself; so that his youth had no need to be ashamed of his childhood, nor his more advanced years of his youth. He was a strict observer of the ancient worship, and yet not a vain and superstitious professor of it before the world; a man easy to be made a friend, but very hard to be made an enemy—insomuch, that after his death he was exceedingly regretted even by many of the Covenanters.

“His lifeless body was taken care of by Hugh Scrimgeour, an old servant of his father, and buried privately; nor did he long survive the doleful office; for, not many days after, seeing the bloody scaffold upon which Sir Robert suffered not yet removed out of the place, he immediately fell into a swoon, and, being carried home by his servants and neighbours, died at his own threshold.”¹

I cannot finish this horrid narrative without one remark. Montrose never put a prisoner to death, and always refused to do it, when it was urged upon him by some of his friends, as an act of just retaliation.

¹ There is an axe still preserved here, and shown, as the one with which the heads of royalists were struck off; but it would appear from the above statement, that this tradition, like some others, is unfounded.

“Let them,” he said, “set a price upon our heads; let them employ assassins to destroy us; let them break faith, and be as wicked as they can; yet shall that never induce us to forsake the brighter paths of virtue, or strive to outdo them in such barbarous deeds.” Even the covenanting Baillie had his misgivings on this subject; for, in a letter dated 17th October 1645, he quotes 2 Kings vi. 22, as a Scriptural argument against killing those who had surrendered on the condition of quarter. But Argyll, Cant, and Johnston, thought otherwise, and found texts better suited to their purpose. Laing the historian, though usually on the republican side of the question, remarks that, notwithstanding all this bloodshed, the Kirk was not satisfied. “The Parliament,” he says, “was importuned by the vindictive zeal of the clergy, but resisted the farther effusion of blood.”

1647. In February this year, to the everlasting disgrace of all concerned, the Scots sold their unfortunate king, who had fled to them for protection, to the commissioners of the English Parliament, for £200,000 sterling. This accusation Dr M'Crie calls a “calumny,” because the said sum was but “a very small part of an acknowledged *debt*.” This only made the matter worse; for so degraded had the once brave and loyal Scots now become, that they could not even get the payment of “a very small part of an acknowledged debt,” but by the sacrifice of their king.

The records of the presbytery of St Andrews, at the close of this year, and the beginning of the next, furnish us with an account of the presentation of Mr James Sharp (afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews) to the parish of Crail; his trials by the presbytery, and his induction as minister of the parish; all of which are represented as highly creditable to him.¹

¹ Pp. 37, 38.

1648. This year an army was raised by the royalists in Scotland, and sent to England, with a view to rescue their unhappy king out of the hands of his enemies; he having previously entered into an "Engagement" to make certain concessions, on the condition of obtaining the help of his Scottish subjects. To this engagement the General Assembly made the utmost opposition, because it included toleration to other denominations besides their own. "His majesty's concessions," says Bishop Burnet, "about religion pinched them much; and the liberty offered to tender consciences, did much disgust the Scottish clergy; for in Scotland, a toleration was little less odious than Episcopacy, and nothing less than Presbytery would satisfy them." This opposition of the Assembly damped, but did not extinguish, the ardour of the royalists. "The curses the ministers thundered against all who joined in this engagement, made the soldiers very heartless; being threatened with no less than damnation."¹ The expedition, as is well known, failed, which the Assembly described as "a mercy and deliverance, which ought to be received with thankfulness and praise:" and they passed an act, that they who had joined in it, should make public satisfaction in sackcloth, or be excommunicated! The presbytery of St Andrews behaved in the same manner. They declared against a war in behalf of the king, "till courses be agreed on for suppressing malignants, as well as sectaries;" and they compelled all the principal gentlemen within their bounds, who had taken a part in the said war, to make open declaration of their repentance; and, meanwhile, as a punishment, debarred them from the *communion* and *covenant*, as well as from having any voice in the judicatories of the Kirk.² They even

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 348.

² *Records*, p. 41-48.

punished certain of their own ministers for not preaching against the engagement.

1649. In January this year, Charles I. perished on the scaffold, by the murderous hands of his own subjects; a prince whose faults vanish into nothing when compared with those of his enemies. And let us remember *for what* and *by whom* he suffered. He suffered for his adherence to an apostolical Episcopacy; and his murderers were the English Independents and the Scottish Covenanters; the latter of whom may be said to have held him down, while the former cut off his head. The Scottish commissioners in London, no doubt, offered a feeble remonstrance against this atrocious design; but Cromwell soon silenced them by reminding them that the terms of their own covenant virtually required his death; for it required all "malignants" to receive "condign punishment;" and, as the king had proved himself to be the greatest malignant of any, he was the more deserving of an exemplary punishment. After the murder, the following was the cool and laconic communication of the said commissioners to the General Assembly in Edinburgh: "Right reverend and honourable,—This day about two of the o'clock in the afternoon, his majesty was brought out of the window of the banqueting-house at Whitehall, near which a stage was set by, and his head struck off with an axe; wherewith we hold it our duty to acquaint you; and so, *we being in haste*, shall say no more at this time, but that we remain your affectionate friends to serve.

"LOTHIAN.

"J. CHIESLIE."

From the style of this epistle, we may conjecture what kind of a remonstrance these commissioners had made against the murder of their king. How, indeed, could we expect that they who had been eager to shed

the blood of his faithful adherents, should be anxious to save his own?

The following is abridged from Sir James Balfour's *Annals* under this year. Sir James, it should be observed, was a Presbyterian and a Covenanter; yet he had loyalty enough to enter into the "engagement," the year before, in behalf of the king; for which he was obliged, by the presbytery of Cupar, to make a public acknowledgment of his error.¹

"At the end of June, a committee of the General Assembly met at St Andrews, to examine Dr John Barron provost of St Salvator's college, and some of the regents and masters of the university. Their alleged faults were trifles; but their real offence was their being favourable to monarchy. The committee told Barron, that they were commanded to proceed against him by advice of Blair and Rutherford, and that he could not be allowed to keep his place in the college; but that, if he would voluntarily resign, they would provide a yearly maintenance for him. This he, seeing their malice, agreed to; and accordingly gave in his resignation to the moderator of the committee, Mr David Forret minister of Kilconquhar. This committee then called in students who were minors, as evidence against their own masters and regents, without suffering the latter to challenge them.

"Besides these, a student was examined for having said that certain ministers were false prophets, fosterers of calumnies, and unjust accusers of their brethren; that Argyll was infamous; and that they who called Major Strachan [a Presbyterian engager, I presume] an enemy to his country and to Presbyterianism, were dishonest and irreligious.

"None of these charges were proved against this

¹ Records of the Presbytery of Cupar, p. 128.

youth ; but he confessed that if he called Argyll infamous, he meant no more than that he had lost his fame with posterity, by being so often defeated in battle. Rutherford and Blair confined themselves to the words he was reported to have used concerning Strachan ; and, though not proved, they sentenced him to be beaten in the common schools ; but he, disdaining their sentence, left the college.

“ It is to be noted, that in every college, Blair, Rutherford, and Wood, had their emissaries, and were always ready to lay hold of anything that was said of those who were not of their party ; especially if, besides this, they were loyal and learned. Their object was, to fill up all offices in the university with men of their own opinions, and thus poison the fountains of religion and good government.

“ Mr Blair had been banished from the university of Glasgow for his republicanism ; but when the troubles began, he was brought to St Andrews, as a fit place in which to diffuse his venom.

“ Mr Samuel Rutherford had been loose in his youth, and a sworn enemy to monarchy, as his writings testify ; he was a hater of all men not of his own opinion ; vindictive, unmerciful, and uncharitable ; and a teacher of the same to others.”

These were two of the most influential covenanting divines of their day ; and such conduct as is here ascribed to them, is just what might previously have been expected to arise out of the political and religious opinions which they held. They exhibited a remarkable instance of “ the little finger of Presbytery being heavier than the loins of Episcopacy.” But they are both “ Scots worthies,” and that covers a multitude of sins.

“ This summer,” says Lamont, (1649,) “ there were very many witches taken and burnt in several parts of

this kingdom, as in Lothian ; and in Fife, at Innerkeithing, Aberdour, Burntisland, Dysart, and Dumfermline."

The same year, Mr James Wood professor of divinity in St Andrews, was chosen one of a deputation to Charles II. at the Hague, to endeavour to prevail on him to accept the crown, on the condition of his signing the "Solemn League and Covenant," and submitting to certain other humiliating restrictions on his prerogatives. The deputation sailed from Kirkcaldy in March, and returned in June, "much unsatisfied," says Lamont. But the following year the time-serving king granted all that was asked of him, and accordingly made preparations for his voyage to Scotland.

It was no feeling of loyalty on the part of the Covenanters, which prompted them to bring Charles II. to Scotland. This has been asserted by their defenders, but there is no ground for believing it. They themselves too, made great *professions* of loyalty, just as they did of evangelical piety ; but, judging from their *conduct*, they had as little of the one as they had of the other. In truth, disinterested loyalty had not only ceased to exist among them, but had become a crime in their eyes ; as their behaviour to the late king and his adherents had abundantly proved, and as their subsequent treatment of his son equally proved. But the English sectaries, under Cromwell, were, at this time, gradually gaining the upper hand ; in consequence of which their Covenant was in danger. Their object, therefore, was to make the king their tool ; to induce him to become, if possible, as zealous a Covenanter as themselves ; to throw the weight of his influence into their scale, and thus balance the rising power of Cromwell, who was keenly opposed to their extravagant pretensions and persecuting intolerance.

CHAPTER II.

History of St Andrews during the Grand Rebellion, from the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland in 1650, till the restoration of Episcopacy in 1661.

As soon as it was determined that Charles II. was to come to Scotland, the Scottish parliament, which did not scruple to exercise the most absolute sovereignty, even over the king himself, ordained that "his majesty should come from Aberdeen to Dunottar; from thence to Kinnaird, the Earl of Southesk's house; thence to Dundee; from it to St Andrews; and then to his own house of Falkland."¹ This accords with Lamont, who, in his "Diary," mentions the arrival of the king at St Andrews. He had landed at the mouth of the river Spey (but not till he had signed the Covenant) on the 23d of June, and reached this city on the 4th of July. When he came to the West Port, the silver keys of the gates were delivered to him;² and he was welcomed by Mr Andrew Honyman, then one of the ministers of the parish, afterwards Bishop of Orkney. When he came opposite the gate of St Mary's college, Principal S. Rutherford made an oration to him, "running much," says Lamont, "upon duties of kings." It would have been more to the purpose, if some one had read to Rutherford a lecture on the duties of subjects. His majesty lodged in the house which had belonged to Hugh Scrimgeour, "near the abbey;" probably the house in which his great-grandmother Queen Mary had lived, eighty-

¹ Sir James Balfour's Annals, *in loco*.

² These keys are still preserved.

seven years before. Next day, Mr Robert Blair, who, four years before, had assisted in the judicial murder of many of his best friends, preached before him. When the sermon was over, the king honoured the preacher with a visit at his own house. As soon as he entered the room, Mrs Blair ran to offer him a chair: "My heart," said her husband, "do not trouble yourself; he is a young man, and can draw one in to himself." This may give us some idea of the little respect with which the Covenanters treated their lawful prince. On the following day, Charles set out for Cupar and Falkland. This was the last time that any sovereign of Great Britain ever visited St Andrews; though in former ages, as we have seen in the preceding history, many of the kings and queens of Scotland were in the practice of making it their occasional place of residence.¹ But it was now gradually sinking into comparative insignificance.

I have several times had occasion to allude to Samuel Rutherford; but, as he was Principal of St Mary's college, and one of the most influential men of his day, a further notice of him may here be thought necessary. The common designation he received from his contemporaries was, "that flower of the Kirk, the famous Mr S. Rutherford." Before the religious troubles began, he had been minister of Anwath in Galloway. One of his biographers says: "Of the manner of his settlement in that parish, (in 1627,) we know no particulars, only *by some means or other* he succeeded in being settled without acknowledging the

¹ Charles returned to Fife in the early part of the next year, and was feasted at Anstruther and Pittenweem, as appears from the Town Council Records of these burghs. We have no complete *personal* history of Charles, from the day of his landing at Speymouth, till his escape from England in October 1651, after the fatal battle of Worcester; but a more interesting subject for a volume could scarcely be selected.

bishops, which was no easy matter at that time." In other words, he smuggled himself into the church, though opposed to its constitution and discipline; a practice not uncommon in those distempered times; for when the majority of a presbytery were fanatically or rebelliously disposed, they contrived to settle a minister of their own views in a vacant parish, without the bishop's consent; thinking, no doubt, that the end justified the means. Rutherford was, however, deprived by the bishop of his diocese, in 1636, for preaching against the Articles of Perth, which were at that time the law both of the land and of the Church. When he appeared before the ecclesiastical court on this occasion, he refused to give the bishop his title; forgetful that St Paul styled even Felix "most noble," though a heathen magistrate, and though he had insultingly accused the apostle of madness. The only punishment inflicted upon Rutherford for his disobedience and contumacy, was his being ordered to confine himself, for a time, to the city of Aberdeen. From this place he wrote many of his celebrated "Letters;" in one of which he says, "I have a fire within me which I defy all the devils in hell, and all the prelates in Scotland, to cast water upon." This is scarcely the language of a sane mind; and yet one of his biographers considers this very letter "an evidence that the consolations of the Holy Spirit did greatly abound with him in his sufferings!"¹ At the outbreak of the Grand Rebellion, being in all respects fitted for the new order of things, he was appointed, as we have seen, professor of divinity in St Mary's college, and one of the ministers of the town; and in 1647, on the death of Howie, the aged Principal, he succeeded to his office. He was one of the commissioners sent by the General

¹ Life of him, prefixed to an edition of his Letters in 1825.

Assembly to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, where he had a principal hand in compiling the Directory for Public Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which are now in use in the Presbyterian establishment. He subsequently joined the violent faction, or "Remonstrants," in opposition to the moderate "Resolutioners," a party distinction which we shall have occasion to notice, under the year 1651. He wrote a book "against pretended liberty of conscience;" and another entitled "Lex Rex," in which, like John Knox, he argues that the people, being the source of all power, may lawfully deprive their sovereign of his authority, whenever they think themselves warranted in so doing. But he is best known by his "Letters;" many of which were written from St Andrews, to some of the leading persons of his time, both male and female; and are still admired by a numerous class of Christians, notwithstanding that they abound with the most familiar, irreverend, and even indelicate expressions, when treating on the most sacred subjects.¹

¹ Mr M. Napier justly calls them "the disgusting ravings of Mr S. Rutherford; not the less loathsome that they are under the mask of religion. To the disgrace of a Christian and civilized nation, they yet find admirers." And Arnot, in his "History of Edinburgh," says of the same author, that "his writings are a composition of hypocrisy, calumny, obscenity, and nonsense, not to add blasphemy." These opinions might be fully borne out by passages from the "Letters." To Bethia Ard, a female, he says, "At my first coming hither, Christ and I agreed not well upon it; but now he is content to kiss my black mouth; to put his hand in mine," &c. In another, to John Gordon of Gordonness, he tells him, "Many a sweet, sweet, soft kiss; many a perfumed and sweet-smelled kiss and embracement have I received of my royal Master. And now, whosoever they be that have returned to their old vomit since my departure, I bind upon their backs, in my Master's name and authority, the long, lasting, and weighty vengeance and curse of God. In the Lord's name, I give them a doom of black and unmingled pure wrath, which my Master shall ratify, except they timeously repent and turn to the Lord." Yet, strange to say, these Letters have lately been republished in Numbers, and very extensively circulated!

This year, (1650,) the English sectarian army under Cromwell prepared to invade Scotland. In the Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews for July, we find the following entry: "*Prayer against sectaries.*—The brethren spent the rest of this day, both before and after noon, in solemn prayer to God, for a blessing on the undertakings of this Kirk and kingdom, against the unwarrantable invasion of the present enemy, who hath perfidiously forsaken the covenant and oath of God."¹ Here was the upshot of their idol-covenant, which they had entered into with their friends and fellow-rebels the English, against their church and king, and which they had impiously placed on the same footing with the sacrament of the holy eucharist! They had sown the wind, and they were now beginning to reap the whirlwind. In September was fought the battle of Dunbar, which gave Cromwell the undisputed sovereignty of Scotland; a country which had been inaccessible to the Romans in the plenitude of their power, and had resisted the whole force of England for many centuries, but was now vanquished by a small army of Independents, Antinomians, and Anabaptists: to so low and wretched a state had Covenanting democracy reduced its once warlike inhabitants. The infatuated ministers actually refused the assistance of their king and two thousand brave gentlemen, who offered their services on this occasion, on the plea that, being malignants, God might be provoked on that account to give them up to the enemy!² About 10,000 of the Covenanting soldiery were taken prisoners by Cromwell, and were put on so short an allowance of food, that it was found necessary to raise a public subscription throughout Scotland for their relief. The greater part of them were finally sent to work as slaves in our transatlantic pos-

¹ P. 58.

² Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 424.

sessions. It is remarkable, that while every little piece of supposed tyranny, on the part of the Stuarts, is magnified and reiterated, the real tyranny of Cromwell is scarcely ever complained of by our democratic writers. To what can this be owing? Is it because, like a more recent and equally popular conqueror, he was "the child and champion of republicanism?"

The following entries occur in the Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews:—"October 30. The presbytery having received a letter from the commissioners of the General Assembly, showing the sad condition of our prisoners in England, through famine and nakedness, and that they have concluded a voluntary contribution through the several congregations of this Kirk for their relief, the presbytery do appoint the intimation hereof the next Lord's day, to be collected the Sabbath following."¹—December 23. The Earl of Lauderdale is obliged to do penance and crave pardon before the Presbytery of St Andrews, for his "late unlawful engagement against England" in favour of Charles I., and for being accessory to the still more recent escape (commonly called the "start") of Charles II., after which he is admitted to the "Covenant and communion."² What an eventful life might be written of this singular man!

In regard to this "start," the Synod of Fife ordered a letter to be written to the king, "aunt his late escape to the malignants." They even appointed a deputation of ministers and elders to present it, who reported, "that it was very graciously accepted by his highness, with great thanks to the synod, and an earnest desire to *pray for him*, never to fall in the like

¹ P. 50. The corresponding intimation to the Cupar presbytery, states, "about 500 of the prisoners are dead; and those who are alive are extremely pinched with hunger, cold, and want."

² P. 60.

escape in joining the malignants."¹ Here we know not which to be most amazed at,—the hypocrisy and duplicity of the king, or the bigotry and credulity of the ministers. Even the defeat at Dunbar had not been able to cure the latter of their infatuation.

1651. In this year, the distinction between Resolutions and Remonstrants had its origin. Troops being wanted for the service of the king, the parliament passed *resolutions* to admit into the royal army all who were willing to serve, without regard to church politics; while the Kirk *remonstrated* against what they deemed a wicked compromise with malignants; and so far carried their point, that none were admitted but those who would sign the Covenant, and acknowledge the sinfulness of the late "engagement." "Behold a fearful sinne!" exclaims the not very scrupulous, yet right-judging, and truth-telling Sir James Turner;² "the ministers of the gospell ressav'd all our repentances as unfained, though they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit; and we, on the other hand, made no scruple to declare that 'engagement' to be unlawfull and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our consciences and judgments. If this was not to mocke the all-knowing and all-seeing God to his face, then I declare myself not to know what a fearfull sin hypocrisie is." The "Remonstrants," we may here remark, were the men who gave so much trouble after the Restoration, that it was found necessary to employ strong measures to subdue them. When Cromwell gained the ascendancy in Scotland, it suited his policy to patronise

¹ Records of the Synod, p. 170.

² See his curious and interesting "Memoirs," p. 94. This volume throws much light on the times it refers to; and fully establishes the fact, that the Covenanters were, for the most part, a set of turbulent and fanatical men, whom neither severity could check nor kindness conciliate.

them to a considerable extent, yet he restrained their violence more effectually than any of their legitimate princes could ever succeed in doing. Rutherford was the only "remonstrant" in the Presbytery of St Andrews. Blair acted a neutral part. Colville and Wood, both professors in St Mary's, sided with the "Resolutioners." To such a length did Colville and Rutherford carry their personal animosity on this point, that it was found necessary to remove the former to St Salvator's college, of which he was made Principal. The latter declared on his death-bed, that St Mary's college had broken his heart.¹

The General Assembly met at St Andrews. The Earl of Balcarres was the king's commissioner. Andrew Cant preached in the morning, and Robert Douglas in the afternoon; but in consequence of Cromwell's being in the county, they removed to Dundee. The conqueror compelled the different presbyteries to pay cess to the English garrison at Perth, to the amount of "twenty-one shillings in the £100 of rental, *weekly*."

August. Nicol, in his "Diary of Transactions in Scotland," has the following notice: "This kingdom, both Kirk and State, being always divided both in judgment and opinion, and one pulpit speaking against another, the enemy thereupon took advantage, and got many opportunities of victory. And hearing that there was a committee of estates, (including among others, Mr Robert Douglas, and *Mr James Sharp*,) then holding at Alyth in the north, beside Killinver, [Kirriemuir?] or thereabout; the English, finding this committee to be careless, wanting a guard, or any

¹ Murray's Life of Rutherford. Blair was deposed for non-conformity after the Restoration, and retired to Aberdour, where he died in 1666. Wood was also deprived for the same reason. Colville conformed, and became Principal of St Mary's.

considerable assistance for the time, they rode up from Dundee quickly in the night, upon Thursday the 2d August, came upon the committee quietly in the morning, took them prisoners, robbed them of all they had, and shipped them toward England, where they were committed."¹

About this time the sectarian soldiers often attended the Presbyterian kirks, and seated themselves on the stool of repentance out of mockery. Sometimes they interrupted the minister in the middle of his sermon or prayers, challenging him to dispute with them publicly on some controverted doctrine; and if the minister proved refractory, they quartered six or eight soldiers upon him. Retribution is sure, sooner or later, to follow those who have set an example of disobedience and injustice. How could men who had obtained their power by agitation and rebellion, be surprised that others should use the same weapons against themselves? In short, the tyranny of the English sectaries put down the worse tyranny of the Scottish Covenanters. The St Andrew's Presbytery Records has the following entry under this year: "*Anent insolencies of soldiers.* The presbytery being touched with a deep sense of the great dishonour done to God, and for oppressions of our congregations, caused by the ungodly and insolent behaviour of divers soldiers quartered within our bounds, have resolved to *complain to the king's majesty*, and committee of estates, and humbly supplicate for redress and remedy hereof." Alas! what could a powerless king, and conquered people do? They had no alternative but patient submission. But not so would have behaved their loyal and brave ancestors a few hundred years before.

¹ See a fuller account of this capture in Lamont's Diary. Eighty noblemen and gentlemen, and eight ministers were taken, and sent to London, where they were detained two or three years.

1652. A deputation of officers came from the English army, and held a visitation of this university. They inspected the books and statutes, made various new regulations, and ordered that no vacancies in the professorships should be filled up without their approbation.¹

This summer, Colonel Bryan (an Englishman) and Mr William Bruce commissary of St Andrews, were appointed by the English authorities to be judges for the county of Fife. "They sat ordinarily in the old College Church, the place where the constree [consistory] did sit formerly. A number of debates did come before them."²

1653. Two English officers forced themselves into a provincial Assembly held here, who, on being asked what they wanted, answered that they attended to see that nothing was done prejudicial to the interests of the commonwealth.³

1654. A party of English cavalry were at St Andrews searching for horses, where they got about twenty. They took with them as prisoners, Lord Melvin and Sir John Carstairs of Kilconquhar, on the plea that they had been supporting a party in the north which had risen in favour of the king. A few months after, the royalist party made a descent into the low country, and carried off a few more horses from St Andrews.⁴

¹ Lamont's Diary, *in loco*.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. Under the head of 6th April, 1553, we have this notice :— "Mr James Sharp, minister of Crail, married one of [Moncrieff of] Randerston's daughters. The marriage feast was at her father's house at Randerston." The lady's name was Helen, and by her he had one son and two daughters : Sir William Sharp, who married a daughter of Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo ; Isabel, who was with her father at the time of his murder, and who was afterwards married to John Cunningham of Barns ; and Margaret, who married Lord Saltoun.

⁴ Lamont's Diary.—Lords Kenmure, Glencairn, Balcarres, and others, were at this time organizing an insurrection in favour of the

October. "Anent decayed bridges.—The presbytery, taking to their serious consideration the great decay of bridges in these bounds, particularly the Bow-bridge of St Andrews, the Inner-bridge of Leuchars, and the bridge at Dairsey, did nominate their brethren, Messrs R. Blair, Andrew Honyman, James Sharp, &c., to consider of overtures for reparation of these and the like, to be presented to the presbytery next day." The matter was referred to the synod, which, six years after, recommended them to raise "a collection for advancing their harbour and stone bridge, that *are both ruined.*"—"The presbytery, with their own consent, delayed it for a time." But meanwhile, the town-council ordered the "sleatts and timmer, redd [rubbish] and lumps" of the castle to be sold for the repair of the pier; and Charles II., after his restoration, gave £162 sterling towards the same purpose.¹

1655. Under this year we have to notice the following correspondence:—"To the right honourable General Monk, commander-in-chiefe of the forces in Scotland, the petition of the provost, bailies, and remanent counsell of the city of St Andrews, for themselves, and in name and behalf of the remanent inhabitants thereof, humbly sheweth,—

"That the foresaid eittie (by reason of the *total decay of shipping and sea trade*, and of the removal of the most eminent inhabitants thereof to live in the country, in respect they conceive themselves to be overburthened with assessments and quarterings,) was accustomed to pay forty-three pounds sterling of assessment monthly, a sum which the petitioners are not

king. They had at one time five thousand men under them, most of whom were mounted. But partly from jealousy of each other, and partly from the vigilance of Monk, their efforts ended in nothing. See "Memoirs of Sir E. Cameron of Lochiel," p. 98-138.

¹ Town Council Records, A.D. 1656, 1657, 1661.

able to pay ; nevertheless Mr Glover, collector of the shyre of Fife, doth demand of the petitioners seven pounds more monthly, since the first of November last, a burthen which the petitioners are not able to undergo, unless they disable themselves altogether of their livelihood and subsistence, which calls to your honour for redress, considering their fall will occasion detriment to the commonwealth : and therefore it is humbly petitioned that your honour may be pleased to take the premises into consideration, and redress the samyne, by discharging of the foresaid collector to exact any more from the petitioners since the foresaid first of November last, but only their accustomed assessment of forty-three pounds sterling monthly ; and likewise that it may please your honour, in respect of the petitioners their debility, to give them such an ease of their assessment for the future as your honour shall conceive fit, and their low condition calls for." (Signed) &c.

The general's laconic answer follows :—

" Dalkeith, 9th July 1655.

" In regard the warrants are issued forth for the months past, I cannot alter the samyn for the time past, onlie there is three pounds abated for Julie and August ; but before Julie next, the collectors must receive according to their warrants.

(Signed) " GEORGE MONK."

These letters show the severe military despotism under which Scotland groaned at this period, and how little she had gained by rebellion. Baillie too, in his Letters, gives a very gloomy view of Scotland during this period, both in regard to the State, which was oppressed by military exactions, and the Kirk, which was still more oppressed by the Remonstrant

ministers, in conjunction with the English sectaries. Yet the latter did some good service; and, among other things, they put a stop to the inhuman practice of *burning witches*, which had become fearfully prevalent during the reign of the Covenant. There is too much reason to apprehend that the "Witch Lake," and the "Witch Hill," in St Andrews, derive their names from their having been used as places of punishment for these unhappy creatures. The *tradition* is, that they were first thrown into the lake, to see whether they would float or sink: if they sank, they were not witches, but they were drowned nevertheless, as if the very suspicion of witchcraft deserved death; if they floated, they were undoubted witches, in which case they were taken out of the water and burnt on the adjacent hill! "About this tyme," says Spalding, under the year 1643, "many witches war takin in Anstruther, Dysart, Culross, *Sanctandrois*, and sindrie uther pairtis in the east side of Fife."¹ In Fife alone, in the course of a few months of the above year, about forty persons were burnt for witchcraft. Yet singular to say, we have no particulars of these burnings, so common had they become, or so unimportant in the opinion of the nation. The ministers used to thrust, or cause to be thrust, long pins into the fleshy parts of these unhappy women, to try if they were proof against feeling, or to extort confessions from them. At other times, a suspected witch was tied up by the thumbs and whipped, or had the flame of a candle applied to the soles of her feet till she confessed!²

¹ Vol. ii. p. 151.

² Sir W. Scott's Ninth Letter on Demonology. It is extremely difficult to form a correct estimate of the number of witches who have at different times been burnt at St Andrews, since the Reformation, for we do not hear of any before that event: but by putting together the various incidental allusions to them, we may perhaps make some approximation to the fact. In 1568, the Regent Moray burnt here

1657. The spirit of animosity had arisen to such a height between the Resolutioners and Remonstrants, that both parties determined to appeal to Cromwell, to settle, if possible, their disputes. Mr James Sharp was chosen to represent the former, and Mr James Guthrie, afterwards hanged for high treason, the latter. Guthrie spoke first, and occupied so much time, that Cromwell became impatient, and at the conclusion, said he would hear Sharp afterwards, as he had then business of greater importance to attend to. Sharp begged earnestly to be heard, promising to be brief; and his friend Lord Broghill, seconding his request, Oliver was persuaded to comply with it. He then turned Guthrie's arguments against himself, and gave such a rational account of his constituents and their principles, that the Protector was fully satisfied of the justness of their cause. This triumph on the part of Sharp, was the origin of that bitter hatred from the opposite party, which, aggravated by his subsequent change to Episcopacy and promotion to the primacy, never ceased till it had accomplished his destruction.

mother Nicniven and Sir William Stewart, both on a charge of witchcraft; and in addition, "certaine witches." In 1572-3, we have the details of the burning of a witch, "against the quhillk Mr Knox delt from the pulpit, she being set up at a pillar before him." In 1643, we find two ministers appointed by the Presbytery of St Andrews "to speak to some who had been apprehended as witches here, and to attend the execution of two more;" and other ministers to "try and bring certain other witches to confession." Spalding mentions that, in the same year, numerous witches were burnt in Fife, and specifies St Andrews as one of the towns where instances occurred. In 1646, two ministers of the presbytery were appointed to revise the charges against some persons who had been imprisoned here for witchcraft. In 1649, Lamont says, that "very many" witches were burnt in Fife, one or two of whom, it is reasonable to suppose, may have suffered in this place. Lastly, there is a well-known tradition, that one Janet Young was burnt for this offence here, in the middle of the last century, and the house in which she lived is still pointed out. Putting all these cases together, we can hardly, I think, estimate the number of the witches who perished at St Andrews at less than twenty.

Baillie, in his Letters recently printed, has preserved the correspondence which passed between Sharp and himself during this period, as well as a copy of the official instructions given to the former by David Dickson, James Wood, and Robert Douglas. Among other things, they desire him to "clear and make manifest the groundless arrogancy of our brethren, in assuming to themselves the name of the godly part of the ministry;" and also to discourage the calling of a General Assembly "on account of present differences and distempers." Baillie himself prays him to "marre the designs of the protestors," and to use his endeavours to deliver them from the latter's "tyrannick Turkish yoke," as more oppressive than that of Cromwell himself. The abusers of Sharp's memory would do well to remember that he represented the *moderate* party of the Kirk,—a fact which they have studiously kept out of sight to serve their own purposes,—and that had he succeeded in his subsequent mission to Charles II., the ultra-Covenanters would have been in no better, indeed I believe in a much worse position, than they afterwards were under Episcopacy.

1659. Cromwell was now dead, and Monk, feeling his importance at the head of a well-appointed army, thought fit to show himself in England, with a view to try the pulse of the nation, and to look after his own interests. But his first object was to leave a quiet kingdom behind him; and accordingly, he addressed complimentary letters to the principal Scottish burghs. The following letter to the magistrates of St Andrews, exhibits, on the part of the general, much cunning and cant, combined with fair promises, which he, perhaps, never thought of fulfilling; while the answer to it betrays a curious mixture of caution and flattery, and the use of the general's own words, though probably in a different sense to what he

intended them:—" *Monunday, the fyfth of December, 1659.* The counsell was convened anent the returning an answer to the letter sent be General Monk, be the hand of Andro Carstairs, den of gild, as commissioner for this citie to the general, the seventh of November last, of which letter the tenor follows:—
' To my very loving friends, the magistrates of the burgh of St Androis,—Gentlemen, Having a call from God and his people, to march into England, to assist and maintain the liberty and rights of the people of these three nations from arbitrary and tyrannical usurpation upon their consciences, persons, and estates, and for a godly ministry; I doe, therefore, expect from you, the magistrats and burgh of St Androis, that you doe preserve the peace of the commonwealth in your burgh; and I hereby authorize you to suppress all tumults, stirrings, and unlawful assemblies; and that ye hold no correspondence with any of Charles Stewart's parties, or his adherents, but apprehend any such as shall make any disturbance, and send them unto the next guarrison. And I doe farther desyre you to countenance and encourage the godly ministrie, and all that truly fear God in the land; and that you continue faithful to own and assert the interest of the parliamentary government in your several places and stations. I hope my absence will be very short: but I doe assure you that I shall procure from the parliament whatever may be for your good government, and relief of this nation; and doubt not but to obtain abatement in your assess, and other public burdens, according to the proportion of England. And what farther service I may be able, I shall not be wanting in what may promote the happiness and peace of this afflicted people. I shall not trouble you farther, but beg your prayers, and desire you to assure yourselves that I am your faithful friend and humble servant,

(sic subscribitur,) GEORGE MONK. 15 *November*, 1659. I desire you to send me word to Berwick, under your hand, how far you will comply with my desire, be the twelfth of December next. I desire you that what is behind of the last four months of the twelve months' assess, may be in readiness against it is called for.'

The Answer.

" ' Right Honourable.—We should be justlie accounted ingrate were we not sensible (in the condition which the divyne dispensation hath allotted unto us) of the benefitts of your government amongst us, and of your tenderness of the common affliction which lyes upon this nation, (wherein our share is notablie eminent,) evidenced by your kynd undertaking to interpose for obtaining relief thereof in due tyme; and being confident that this is in your heart, to effectuate it according to your power, we doe, by these, heartilie express our acknowledgments of your affection to this nation, and shall be always ready to give due testimonie of our sense thereof. Your G. may be confident of our owning and assisting, according to our dutie, the just authority and liberty of parliament, both as to its constitution and actings, and all the just rights and freedom of these nations against all tyranie and arbitrary usurpation; and that we will countenance and encourage the godlie ministrie and people in the land; wishing that all who are in a contrarie way may see their errors, and be redeemed. As also it shall be our cair, according to our duetie and power, to maintain peace against all disturbances; although your G. knows under what incapacitie we are to do any thing effectually that way. And for what is behind of the last four months of the twelve months assess, due diligence shall be used by us to have it in readinesse, so soon as it be had from this fainting and

exhausted people. We trouble not your G. farther; but that prosperitie may attend all your next undertakings, we assure, is the true desire of, right honourable, your verie humble servants, the magistrates of St Androis, (sic subscribitur,) James Wood provost, David Falconer, James Robertson, Hendrie Sword.’”

“On the 18th November, Monk began his march towards England; but hearing by the way that Lambert was at Newcastle, with 12,000 men, he stopped at Coldstream, near Berwick, to deliberate on what was to be done. While he lay there, he despatched a messenger to Crail, desiring Mr James Sharp to come to him with all possible expedition, as he had something to consult with him upon. When Sharp arrived, Monk told him both of the design and uncertainty of his undertaking, as he stood in doubt of the inclination of his own officers; and Lambert, his avowed enemy, was in the neighbourhood with a superior force. Upon which Sharp fell to work, and, after maturely weighing what he had heard, drew up a declaration in Monk’s name, showing the reasons of his present posture, and proposed march into England; which declaration, without mentioning the king and his interests, was so accommodated to the temper of all the contending parties, that, being read next day at the head of the army, it confirmed them all in their duty and obedience to the general; and at last, reaching Lambert’s head-quarters, it wrought such an effect there, that the most of his men deserted him, and either joined Monk, or went over to Fairfax, who lay at York, and corresponded with Monk.”¹

1660. In January, Sharp was deputed by his party in the Kirk to use his endeavours with Monk and the ruling authorities in London, to get themselves estab-

¹ Skinner’s Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 37.

lished by law, and "to represent the sinfulness of a lax toleration" in religion. Early in May, he was sent by the same party to Charles II., at Breda, with the same instructions, amplified by these clauses: "He (the king) needs not declare any liberty to any tender consciences here."—"It is known that, in all times of the prevailing of the late party in England, none petitioned here for a toleration, except some inconsiderable naughty men." These passages sufficiently prove that even the moderate Presbyterians were at this time averse to grant toleration to those who differed from them; on which account they had no reason to complain afterwards if they did not receive it themselves.

In compliance with these instructions, Sharp used his best endeavours to get his own party established as the national religion of Scotland. At the same time he wrote a series of letters to his constituents, giving a faithful representation of the state of Church affairs, and the prevailing opinions at the king's court on the subject of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. These letters exist, and speak for themselves. Every impartial person must, I think, see that they are the production of a straightforward and candid mind which had one object in view, and nothing to conceal. He plainly tells his friends that, owing to the dissensions which had arisen from sectarianism and Presbyterianism during the late rebellion, the tide was strongly running in favour of Episcopacy, not only among the English but even among the Scotch, and that the renewal of the Covenant would not be listened to; and he frequently expresses his wish, that he may be recalled, since he felt himself unable to accomplish the purpose of his mission. The truth is, Charles had been disgusted with Presbyterianism during his stay in Scotland; Clarendon, his chancellor, was warmly opposed to it; the cavalier party, who were now in the

ascendancy, were to a man zealous Episcopalians ; and the few Presbyterian noblemen who were at court, were generally men of broken fortunes and abandoned characters.¹ What could Sharp, single-handed, do against such overwhelming odds? Absolutely nothing. Yet the enemies of his memory, forgetting that he belonged to the Resolution party, and averse to blame the Remonstrant party with which they are pleased to identify themselves, have made him the scape-goat for all the evils that followed. Thus M'Crie speaks of "the unparalleled treachery of Sharp who, being entrusted by the Presbyterians with the management of their cause in Holland and London, basely betrayed it, and continued to amuse them in his letters, with the most false information, and the most hypocritical pretences, until the scheme for overthrowing their liberties was matured, securing to himself the archbishopric of St Andrews as the reward of his iniquity." These charges, I assert, rest on no authority whatever. I have not been able, after the most anxious inquiry, to discover the slightest evidence of Sharp's treachery, beyond the unsupported assertions of his avowed enemies, who uniformly put the worst possible construction on the "letters" in question. If the author express himself in favour of Presbyterianism, he is acting the hypocrite ; if he apprehend the restoration of Episcopacy, it is an evidence that he is veering round to that polity ; if he urge his constituents to recall him, it is a blind to deceive them. When weighty accusations are brought against a man's character, the *onus probandi* manifestly lies with those who bring them ; and they should rest on some better foundation than "it was said," "I find," "I am well informed," "it came to be known," &c., which is all the proof Wodrow is able to bring

¹ Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. x. p. 78.

forward in support of some of the foulest calumnies with which he has loaded Sharp's memory. Take the following as a specimen :—"The same person, (Mr James Webster,) tells that he had it from a person that had it from Calomy the grandfather, that Calomy told this person that he still suspected Sharp."¹ Such drivelling evidence as this would be unworthy of notice, were it not that, unaccountable as it may seem, it has prejudiced a large proportion both of writers and readers against a most pious, zealous, and exemplary prelate. On no better proof than this, the same writer calls Sharp "an infamous and time-serving person;" and asserts that his letters, taken in connexion with his subsequent change, betray "his juggling, prevarication, and treachery." It is true he gives extracts from the letters, in support of his position; but even these, when taken apart from their context, and the comment which he is pleased to put on them, do not make out even the shadow of a case against him. In short, putting all the circumstances together, we may say that, in regard to the conduct of Sharp at the court of Charles II., after being subjected to a long, severe, and cruel ordeal from his enemies, he has come out of it without so much as a suspicion of dishonesty.

On the 29th May, Charles II. returned to his kingdom and throne, to the great joy of all his subjects, except the English Puritans, and the Remonstrant Presbyterians of Scotland, who never ceased to oppose both the restored monarchy and the restored

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS. vol. i. p. 133. This work is now being printed for the Maitland Club; and for its gossiping credulity on mere hearsay evidence, in regard to persons against whom the author bore an antipathy, will overthrow any little credit which he ever had as an historian. The book abounds with indecent anecdotes, ghost narratives, and miraculous occurrences of the most ludicrous description. Among other things, are several stories of Sharp's dealings with the devil, which, though they plainly betray the *animus* of the writer, are too nonsensical to be repeated.

Church, and who would neither accept toleration themselves, nor allow it to others.

In August, Sharp returned to Scotland with a letter from the king to Mr Robert Douglas and the Presbytery of Edinburgh, expressive of his entire approbation of the conduct of their representative. He was most favourably received by his brethren, who unanimously passed a vote of thanks to him for his services. In ordinary cases, this would have been reckoned honourable to any man; but the enemies of Sharp assert, without an attempt at proof, that he was in secret collusion with the king for the overthrow of Presbyterianism; and that his cunning was such that he still contrived to hoodwink his brethren! They cannot see his actions but with jaundiced eyes. A few months before this, a still stronger testimony of approbation had been given to him, in his being appointed to a professorship of divinity in St Mary's college. This was done with the full concurrence of all concerned, except Samuel Rutherford, who proposed one William Raitt for the situation, a divine no doubt of his own school. As I consider it of importance to rescue Sharp's memory from the injustice which has been done to it, I will transcribe the minute on this subject from the records of the Presbytery of St Andrews. "The presbytery, having received an act of the last General Assembly at Dunfermline, appointing them, with some other brethren joined with them, to give their help, by their advice, to the masters of the new college, for the speedy plantation of the vacant professor of divinity in that college, by some person fitted and qualified for that place; and considering that their worthy brother Mr James Sharp, minister at Crail, who, for his piety, learning, and prudence, is eminently fitted and qualified for that profession in this seminary of the Church, and that he is

a man able to be specially useful to that whole university, having been for many years a member and professor of philosophy in a college there; as also, considering that he is under the synod and presbytery, and may be more easily and speedily transplanted to that place than any other who is not so,—do, therefore, give their advice to the masters of the new college to invite and call him to that place and profession, and do promise to give their concurrence thereto, to the uttermost of their power.”¹ It is scarcely necessary to add, that with such powerful recommendations, his election was a matter of course. Here, then, was the whole Presbytery of St Andrews uniting in the cordial approbation of Sharp, and all the masters of the college concurring in the choice, with the single exception of Rutherford, whose opposition, considering his well-known sentiments, both religious and political, it was rather a proof of merit to incur.

Towards the end of this year, the Committee of Estates in Edinburgh, wrote to the magistrates of St Andrews, ordering them to discharge Samuel Rutherford from the exercise of his office as Principal of St Mary’s college, and to cause his book, entitled “*Lex Rex*,” to be burnt by the common hangman, in the market-place of the city, as being “full of seditious and treasonable matter, corrupting the minds of his majesty’s subjects, and withdrawing them from the duty of that loyal love and obedience which they owed to his sacred person and greatness.”²

1661. The Scottish parliament met in Edinburgh on the 1st of January; the opening sermon of which was preached by Mr Robert Douglas. This parliament cancelled all the acts which the pretended parliaments and General Assemblies of the Grand Rebel-

¹ Pp. 76, 77.

² Appendix XLVIII.

lion had levelled against royalty and Episcopacy; and thus, by one act, *restored* the Church as it had been established from 1610 till 1638. This, says Dr M'Crie, was done "in a phrenzy of loyalty, or rather a fit of drunkenness."¹

On the 29d of April, being the king's coronation-day, Sharp preached before the Parliament of Scotland; and on the Monday following, he set off for London in company with the Earls of Rothes and Glencairn. This was the time, but certainly not sooner, that Sharp was induced to change from moderate Presbyterianism to a modified Episcopacy; but what immediately led to it we are not informed. Perhaps he was one of those very liberal-minded persons who could see *no great difference* between the two; just as we find many Presbyterians at this day who say the same. No doubt, such persons are mistaken, the difference being most important; and I make no question that Sharp discovered this, after he became as well acquainted with the one as he had been with the other; but, at the time of his change, he did not probably understand the difference; and this may account for the facility with which he passed over to Episcopacy, without subjecting him to such heavy charges as perfidy and apostacy. Or it might be that, finding the king bent on Episcopacy, he judged it better to conform to a less advantageous arrangement, than to persist in opposing it. Nor is it any disparagement to him to believe, that the high dignity which was offered him, and the means of extensive usefulness

¹ He asserts this on the authority of Bishop Burnet. At other times, he quotes or rejects the bishop's wavering and double-edged testimony as it suits his own purposes. He says of him, "Although he had altered his views, and repented of his former conduct in many things before he composed the 'History of his Own Times,' yet there is good reason for doubting if the bishop was the impartial historian which many have supposed him to be, as far as regards the Presbyterians." I believe nothing to be more true.

annexed to it, must have influenced a mind anxious to uphold the cause of religion and loyalty, which twenty years of schism and rebellion had well-nigh subverted ; and which, therefore, the more needed energies such as he possessed for restoring them. But however this was, his friend Baillie seems to have suspected that something of the kind was pending ; for, in a letter to him from Glasgow, of October, he says, " whatever grief my heart has from our changes, and is like to have till I die, I hope it shall stand with terms of great respect to you, from whom I have received so many favours, and still expect to receive more." Yet even Baillie could not be greatly vexed at the change, for he had himself been once a friend to Episcopacy ;— "*Bishops I love,*" he says ; " but pride, greed, luxury, was the bane of the Romish prelates, and cannot long have success in the reformed church."¹ Henderson too, it is well known, turned from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism ; and is lauded for so doing by the very men who accuse Sharp of apostacy.

The honour of the primacy which was now conferred on Sharp, was no more than a just tribute to his talents, his experience, and his extraordinary merits ; and, at the same time, a suitable recompense for the services which he had rendered to his sovereign.

In regard to the temporalities of the archbishopric at this period, the presentation charter² will give some idea of the sources whence they were derived, though it is not so easy to determine their amount. £130 sterling, yearly, was to be deducted from them, for the principals of the three colleges, till that sum could be procured from another source. The clause which was in Archbishop Spotswood's charter, obliging him to lay aside all of his income that was over 10,000 marks,

¹ Letters, iii. xxxv.

² Appendix XLIX.

for the rebuilding of the cathedral, was withdrawn from Sharp's, but, instead of it, the surplus of the same sum was to be applied to the construction of a suitable residence for himself and his successors, "because," it is said, "it has been reported to us that the castle of St Andrews, the ancient residence of the archbishops, is wholly destroyed." Whether anything were done to carry this object into effect does not appear.

We may form some approximation to the revenue of the archbishopric at the period now under our review, from the fact, that the government, (which, it is well known, has, since the Revolution, drawn and applied the "bishop's rents" to its own purposes,) drew from the diocese, in 1831, the sum of £1544 6s. 1d.¹ This, however, does not include the profits of the regality and commissary courts, as also the fines for compositions and intromissions, which must have been considerable.² I should conceive the income must have been equal to £4000 of our money; and even this was a small sum for so weighty and expensive a charge, and greatly below what it had been previous to the Reformation.

CHAPTER III.

Life and Times of James Sharp archbishop of St Andrews, from his succession in 1661 till his murder in 1679.

WE have already traced all those parts of Sharp's history which are connected with the events of the last chapter, down to his appointment to the primacy.

¹ Lawson's Hist. of the Scots Episcopal Church, since the Revolution, p. 26.

² Appendix L.

I have now to observe that he was the son of Mr William Sharp, sheriff-clerk of Banff, and of Isabel Lesley, daughter of the Laird of Kinninvy. He was born in the castle of Banff, in which his father lived and died; and was episcopally educated at the university of Aberdeen, under Drs Barron and Forbes, who suffered so much for their opposition to the Covenant of 1638. Though Sharp considered it expedient to conform to Presbyterianism during the time of the Rebellion, yet the effects which he saw to arise out of it, when unchecked, could scarcely fail to predispose him for the return of Episcopacy, which could not, from its very constitution and principles, degenerate into such excesses. Nor was his a singular case. There were nine other Presbyterian ministers of the moderate or "resolution" party, most of whom had been ordained before the rebellion began, who now became bishops of the restored church. Nay, the whole Presbytery of Aberdeen, consisting of fifty-three ministers, "disgusted," as they expressed themselves in their memorial to the king, "with those sinful and rebellious affronts and wrongs that had been put on the royal authority," during the two preceding reigns, petitioned his majesty to "settle the government of this rent Kirk, according to the Word of God and the *practice of the ancient primitive church*;" in other words, to restore Episcopacy, which had always been the religion of Scotland, except when republican principles, civil and religious, had gained a temporary ascendancy. They saw that Episcopacy would harmonize better than any other system with a monarchical government; and that it was more likely than any other to inculcate the doctrine, "my son, fear thou God and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change." And they saw, too, that they could not in reason ask the sovereign to swear to uphold

two ecclesiastical establishments, essentially differing from each other. Considerations such as these turned the scale in favour of Episcopacy in Scotland, as well as in England.¹ But as canonical ordination had been set aside during the reign of the Covenant, Sharp, Leighton, Fairfoul, and Hamilton, who were all eminent divines, and favourably disposed to Episcopacy, were called up to London to receive the apostolical commission from the hands of those who were qualified to bestow it. These men, though, while Presbyterian ministers, they were thought to be everything that was praiseworthy, no sooner consented to become *bishops* than they were discovered to be just the opposite. Of Sharp we have already heard, and shall again hear, all manner of evil. "Hamilton," says Wodrow, "was remarkable for his cunning and time-serving temper." Fairfoul "was never taken for either serious or sincere;" and, besides, "there was no small talk of his intrigues with a lady, who shall be nameless." Even Leighton was only "*reckoned* devout, and an enemy to persecution, and *professed* a great deal of meekness and humility." Hamilton and Fairfoul had been episcopally ordained before the year 1638; but the two first, having had presbyterian ordination only, the validity of which is not recognised by the Church of England, were ordained, as well as consecrated, in Westminster Abbey, by four English bishops, viz., those of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Landaff. The commission they thus received, they forthwith imparted to their brother bishops in Scotland; from which time, down to the present day, the Episcopal succession has not been interrupted;

¹ Dr M'Crie has a very summary way of accounting for the restoration of Episcopacy:—"Charles II.'s maxim was, that Presbyterianism was not fit for a gentleman. His dissipated and irreligious courtiers were of the same opinion; and, *therefore*, Episcopacy was reëstablished."—*Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 277.

though it is well known that, owing to the fidelity of the Scottish bishops to their oaths at the Revolution, and the policy of the Prince of Orange, who acted from purely selfish motives, the Church is no longer by law established.

But, in restoring Episcopacy, Charles's government acted with great moderation. The kirk-sessions were kept up, in which the parish minister presided; presbyteries met under the direction of some experienced minister appointed by the bishop; diocesan synods were regularly convened, in which the bishop himself, or his dean, acted as moderator; and even General Assemblies might have been held, had the king seen fit to summon them. Besides this, kneeling was not required at the administration of the eucharist; the established clergy used no liturgy,¹ nor wore any distinguishing dress in their public services; so that a stranger, going accidentally into a place of worship at that time, could not have told whether it were Presbyterian or Episcopal; except only that, in the latter, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, and the Doxology were introduced. Sharp's biographer records of him that, "he was far from being an enemy to the decent and excellent Liturgy of the Church of England; but he did not think it seasonable to introduce it before affairs should come to a greater ripeness and disposition." Finally, all incumbents were allowed to retain possession of their livings, by whatever means obtained, on condition only of submitting to

¹ It is to be regretted that they did not use the Liturgy. Had the people of Scotland been made familiar with it, and taught to identify it with Episcopacy, it would, no doubt, have attached them to that polity. One of the very few instances in which the Liturgy was used after the restoration, was by Mr Gilbert Burnet, (afterwards the well-known bishop of Salisbury,) in his own parish of Salton. This divine formed an excellent library, which he bequeathed to his successors in that parish, and which is now enjoyed by the Presbyterians.

receive their presentation from the patron, and collation from the bishop. Such being the case, and the doctrines of the Episcopal Church being confessedly scriptural, Episcopacy could not have been felt as a grievance by reflecting men of *any* party; and hence the opposition to it, on the part of the Covenanters, could only have arisen from a spirit of faction or fanaticism. So sensible of this was Mr Calamy, the contemporary English Presbyterian dissenter, that, upon hearing of the state of things in the north, he could not help exclaiming, "What would our brethren of Scotland be at, or what would they have? Would to God *we* had such offers!"

As a proof that Sharp's change from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy was not looked upon with an evil eye by the respectable part of his contemporaries, it may be mentioned that, when he first made his appearance in Fife, in his new capacity, which was in April 1662, he was cordially welcomed by all ranks of its population. "He came to Fife," says Lamont, "April 15th, and dined that day with Sir Andrew Ramsay, formerly Provost of Edinburgh; and that night came to Lesley, being attended by divers both of the nobility and gentry. The next day, being Wednesday, he went to St Andrews from Lesley, attended from the Earl of Rothes, his house, with about sixty horse; but, by the way, divers persons and corporations (being written for in particular by the said Earl of Rothes a day or two before) met him, some at one place, and some at another; viz., some from Falkland, Auchtermuchty, Cupar, Crail, and about one hundred and twenty horse from St Andrews and elsewhere; so that once they were estimate to be about seven or eight hundred horse. The nobility were—Earl of Rothes, Earl of Kelly, Earl of Leven, and the Lord Newarke; of gentry—Ardross, Lundy, Rires, Dury, Skaddoway, Dr Martin of Standry, and divers

others. All the way the said archbishop rode betwixt two noblemen, viz., Rothes on his right hand and Kelly on his left. On the Sabbath after, he preached in the town church in the forenoon, and a velvet cushion in the pulpit before him; his text, 'For I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified.' His sermon did not run much on the words, but in a discourse of vindicating himself, and of pressing of Episcopacy, and the utility of it, showing that, since it was wanting, there hath been nothing but troubles and disturbances both in church and state."

After his settlement at St Andrews, Sharp procured from the king a mortification of £200 per annum, to be paid to the university for ever, with which he augmented the professorships of mathematics and Hebrew. In 1663 the two Scottish archbishops were made members of the privy council; and, in the year following, the primate had precedency given him over all the great officers of state in Scotland.¹

The Court of High Commission was established in 1664, for the administration of ecclesiastical affairs; but from the want of documents, we know little or nothing of its proceedings. It consisted of the bishops when they were present, which was seldom, the lord chancellor, and about thirty laymen. It is somewhat amusing to read Wodrow's remarks on the supposed acts of this court. "In this section," he says, "I do not pretend to give any full account of this terrible court. I have been at some pains to inquire for their

¹ In Lamont's Diary, under date April, 1663, there is the following notice:—"Being Moneday, ther perished two Newcastle vessels upon the sands, nere to the Witch-hill att St Androu, wherein ther was, as is reported, thirty-six persons, and not so much as one left alive; for the day before there was a great wynde and raine, and that morn-ing a great wynde likewise." If these two Newcastle vessels contained thirty-six persons, it was far more than the same class are now in the practice of carrying.

records, if they kept any, but cannot fall upon them. If these could be recovered, and a particular and distinct account now had, it would make a dismal figure, and afford a large heap of materials for this history. It is only a very few instances of their procedure with gentlemen and ministers, some of which I have from the persons themselves, that I can now set down as proofs of the iniquity and severity of this court; and from these some judgment may be formed of the rest of their procedure."¹ How could Wodrow affirm that this was a "terrible court," and that its records would make a "dismal figure," when "he could not fall upon these records?" And what kind of "proofs of the court's iniquity" could be expected from the *ex parte* evidence of the persons who, for their misdemeanours, had been summoned before it? He makes himself quite sure, notwithstanding, that in this "terrible court," the *prelates* inflicted all sorts of cruel punishments upon their innocent victims. Indeed, he and his editor, Dr Burns, allow their imaginations to be absolutely haunted by persecuting bishops, and suffering Presbyterians. The latter, even in the dedication of his work to the late king, could not forbear alluding to

"The Struggles and sufferings of the People of Scotland
Under that system of ecclesiastical tyranny
Which preceded and hastened the Revolution of 1688 ;"

though neither he nor Wodrow, with all their industry, have been able to substantiate a single instance of "ecclesiastical tyranny;" and though every reader of British history knows that the Revolution had no connexion whatever with the "sufferings of the people of Scotland." But these divines, in their treatment of the Scottish bishops, seem to have acted upon the

¹ Vol. i. p. 390, Dr Burns's edition.

vulgar maxim, “*calumniare audaciter, aliquid adhærebit*,”—“throw plenty of dirt, and some of it will be sure to stick.” Wodrow begins each of the thirty-one chapters of his large work with the words, “Of the state and *sufferings* of the Presbyterians during the year ——,” though many of them do not even allude to the subject. This is what I call “throwing dirt” upon his enemies, and more especially on the unfortunate bishops, whom he constantly places in front of them, that they may be the more thoroughly bespattered.¹

The plain truth is, the “sufferings” of the Episcopalians during the Grand Rebellion, both in England and Scotland, were a hundred-fold greater than those of the Presbyterians after the Restoration; but the former took their sufferings “patiently,” as their religion taught them to do, on which account they are not generally known; whereas the latter bore theirs very impatiently, and their partisans raised a loud clamour about them: the consequence of which has been, that the two classes of sufferers have attracted the

¹ I will here subjoin a few extracts from the “*Scots Worthies*,” to show the abominable and almost incredible calumnies which have been heaped on some of our bishops. Speaking of Lord Middleton, the author says, “From Glasgow he went to Ayr, where he and some drunken prelates drank the devil’s health at the cross in the middle of the night.”—P. xvii.

The amiable and learned Bishop Forbes of Aberdeen, after being long “an enemy to Christ’s faithful servants,” was “at last seized with sickness at Leith, and felt under sore remorse of conscience for his past life. He sent for Bishop Spotswood, and would gladly have communicated his mind to him; but it seems he would not leave his playing at cards, albeit it was on the Sabbath day; and so he in this condition died.”—P. xii.

As for Spotswood, “a blacker character scarcely ever filled the ministerial office; an adulterer, a simoniac, a drunkard, tippling in taverns till midnight, a profaner of the Lord’s day, by playing at cards, and jaunting through the country; a falsifier of the acts of the General Assembly, a reproacher of the national Covenant; for which crimes he was excommunicated by the Assembly in 1638; after which, having lost all his places of profit and grandeur, he fled to England, the

public sympathy in the inverse ratio both of their number and of their merits.¹

In the year 1666, occurred the affair of Hugh M'Kail, who was hanged for treason and rebellion, and whose pardon, together with that of several others, the king is said to have sent to the two archbishops, but which they withheld, that they might have the savage gratification of depriving the poor men of their lives! Let us inquire into this scandal. "Bishop Sharp, the president," says Wodrow—but here he is mistaken, for Lord Rothes was president—"pushed violently the prosecution and execution of the prisoners; and indeed his *blood-thirsty temper* at this time made him very odious. *I am well informed*, that after some of them were condemned and a few executed, a letter came down from the king discharging taking any more lives. This letter came to the primate as president, and ought by him to have been communicated to the council; but the *blood-thirsty man* kept it up till as many as he had a mind should die, were despatched." I trust that the "I am well informed" of so virulent a writer as this, will not be deemed sufficient proof

asylum then of the scandalous Scots bishops, where he died about 1639, in extreme poverty and want; according to Mr Welch's words, that he should be as a stone cast out of a sling by the hand of God, and a malediction should be on all his posterity; which all came to pass," &c.—P. xv.

Let one more suffice:—"When Sharp was regent, he furiously beat one of his colleagues, honest Mr Sinclair, on the Lord's day, at the college table. He took up his lodging in a public inn, and there got the hostler, one Isobel Lindsay, with child. When she came to be delivered, he prevailed with her, upon promise of marriage, to consent to murder the infant, which he himself effected with his handkerchief, and then buried it below the hearth-stone. When the woman, after he was bishop, stood up once and again before the people, and confronted him with this, he ordered her tongue to be pulled out with pincers."—P. xx. Appendix LVI.

¹ See "An Attempt towards recovering an account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, who were sequestered and harassed, &c., in the late times of the Grand Rebellion," by John Walker, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford,

of any bishop's blood-guiltiness.¹ But to return to the case of Hugh M'Kail.

This person was in the hands of the Justiciary Court, who sentenced him on a Tuesday to be hanged on the Friday following; and the two archbishops, (who are absurdly supposed to have had the power of life and death in their hands,) were wholly unable, either to promote or prevent his execution. As there are some curious particulars connected with this transaction which relate to St Andrews, I will here set them down in order, omitting only what has no immediate connexion with the narrative.

“ Mr Matthew M'Kail, then apothecary in Edinburgh, and afterwards doctor of medicine, when he heard of his cousin, Hugh M'Kail being taken and put in prison, went to Mr James Sharp archbishop of St Andrews, to solicit him in his behalf. Upon the Thursday thereafter, the archbishop went to St Andrews, and Mr Matthew followed him on Friday, but reached only to Wemyss that night. On Saturday, after dinner, he arrived at the archbishop's house, and the servant told him that the barber was trimming him, but that when he was done, Mr Matthew would get access. When Mr Matthew got access, he delivered to the archbishop a letter from the dowager Marchioness of Douglas, in favour of Hugh, whose brother Matthew was governor to her son, Lord James; and another letter from the archbishop's brother, Sir William Sharp, his lady; and when he had read them, he said, ‘ The business is now in the justiciaries' hands, and I can do nothing; but, however, I shall have answers ready against the next' morning.’ At which

¹ See in Appendix LVI. the wretched authority on which this story rests, and the eagerness, notwithstanding, with which Wodrow and others have converted the assertion of a bitter enemy into an unquestionable fact.

time, when Mr Matthew came, the bishop called his family together, prayed, and desired Mr Matthew to come and dine with him, and then he would give the answers. Then he went to the church, did preach, and inveigh much against the Covenant. Immediately after dinner, he gave the answers to the letters; and Mr Matthew said he hoped that his travelling on that day about so serious a business would give no offence. To which the archbishop answered, that it would give no offence. Then Mr Matthew went to inquire about his horse; but the stabler's family were all gone to the church: so that he could not travel till Monday morning early. When he came to Buckhaven, the fish-boats were coming in; and the wind being easterly, he hired one of them immediately, and arrived at Leith in the evening, having sent his horse to Bruntisland. He went immediately to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and delivered a letter to him, who did read it, and then said, that the business was now in the justiciaries' hands. The next day, being Tuesday, Mr Hugh was arraigned before the justice court, which sentenced him to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on Friday next. And the night before, Mr Matthew went to the executioner's, John Dunmore's, house, and did drink with him, and gave him six dollars, desiring him not to muddle with Mr Hugh's clothes; and the next day, the executioner did nothing but put the rope about his neck, and a napkin about his face, and turned him off the ladder, and Mr Matthew received him, and drew down his feet."

And yet, the author of the foregoing narrative, who was one of Sharp's enemies, as if he had said too much in his favour, repeats the old charge of his withholding the pardon, though he had not only given plain evidence of its falsehood, but had shown, moreover, the archbishop's anxiety to save M'Kail, if it

had been in his power. But the conclusive argument in Sharp's favour is this: Lord Rothes, not the primate, was President of the Privy Council. If the king wrote any such letter as is pretended, he must have addressed it to Rothes, and a copy must have been kept in the record-offices both of London and Edinburgh, and probably the original itself in one of them. No such letter or copy has ever yet been produced. Till that be done, or its absence accounted for, we are bound to hold not only the accused as innocent, but the accusers as calumniators.

Add to this, that the author of the "Scots Worthies," in his account of Hugh M'Kail, is wholly silent on the charge against Sharp, which, we may be sure, he would have been too happy to substantiate, if he could, seeing he concludes his description of his murder in these bitter words: "And so he received the just demerit of his sorceries, villanies, murders, perfidy, perjury, and apostacy.—*Then Phinehas rose and executed justice.*"¹

The mere encomiums of partial contemporaries can never be considered of much weight in the attempt to raise a public character; and yet we may fairly place them against the slanderous invectives of undisguised enemies. The least conclusion we can draw from such conflicting statements is, that the former neutralize the latter; and we may be even justified in deciding in favour of the more charitable view of the matter, upon the ground that every man should be deemed innocent till he has been proved guilty.

Now, it is easy to adduce testimony, and that of the most respectable character, in Sharp's favour, in addition to the evidence on the same side, from his

¹ P. 21. Appendix LVI. And yet this foul calumny, which has not a leg to stand upon, is unblushingly repeated by a modern writer, the son of the late Dr M'Crie.—*M'Crie's Sketches*, p. 434.

own brethren of the "resolution" party, General Monk, and Charles II., which we have already recorded in the last chapter. His secretary, the learned Mr George Martine of Claremont, in his "*Reliquiæ divi Andreæ*," speaking of his murder "by nine religious ruffians and hellish assassins," adds, "thereby sacrilegiously robbing God and his church of a worthy prelate; the king of a faithful counsellor and servant; his country of an excellent patriot; the government, spiritual and temporal, of a sure pillar; all good subjects of a worthy friend and example; and myself of a dear and munificent patron." And, in reference to the inscription on his monument, which, like most things of the kind, seems sufficiently flattering, he asserts that it "comes far short of expressing his endowments and merits." The author of "*A True and Impartial Account of the Life*" of Sharp,¹ says: "I have it from a wise, reverend, and aged presbyter, who had the advantage of knowing him very well, that, to his certain knowledge, he hath caused distribute by his trustees, fifty crowns in a morning to the orphans and widows of the Presbyterian brethren, without being acquainted from what hand it came. And it is now very well known, that a certain Presbyterian lady was entrusted by him in dispensing no small sums of secret charity to the most needful of that party which differed so much from him."—"His house, when he was at home, was, as it were, a college of the clergy; and he always kept at least one chaplain to officiate in his family in times of his indisposition or necessary absence. Reading of the Holy Scriptures and public prayers, were always performed before dinner and supper; and, by way of preparative and conclusion, he never failed to

¹ A small scarce book, published in 1723, pp. 78, 80.

bring into conversation some excellent, useful, and agreeable remarks, either upon or relative to the subject; and, when supper was over, and all company removed, he entertained his lady and children, after a very taking and familiar way, upon some points of morality and religion." Lastly, the writer of a well-known contemporary work, "The Turkish Spy," thus sketches the primate's character, after his murder: "He was a man of an accurate and extraordinary spirit, and in his very youth gave early marks of a refined genius in sciences, to which he brought no small reputation and honour, through the vastness of his abilities, his profound judgment, and dexterous sagacity in all things that he undertook. This is the character given him by those of his nation resident here in Paris, of whom there are always great numbers. The greatest and highest ecclesiastical dignity was given him by the present King of England, at his return from a twelve-years' exile, as a debt to his great abilities, and a reward of his merits and services, in labouring might and main to effect the king's restoration. From the moment that he acquired this honour, such as were equally enemies to kings and bishops, persecuted him with slanders and invectives. The streets swarmed with libels against him; and men's tongues were as busy as their pens in railing at him, because he was resolved to endeavour his utmost that Episcopacy might be restored in Scotland, as it was in England, though it had been subverted in both nations during the usurpation of Oliver the tyrant. It was this drew upon him the malice and revenge of the seditious, and they spared not in public to threaten his death. Nay, some years before he was murdered, one of these furiosos shot at him in the open street of Edinburgh, but missed him. Then the seditious published libels, wherein they gloried in the attempt, and

only were sorry that it took not effect. They also prophesied that he should die a violent death; and it was easy for them to presage this which they were resolved to execute themselves."

In the year 1668, when the primate was in Edinburgh, and engaged "in distributing alms to the poor in the street," says the author of the "True and Impartial Account," he was shot at by a fanatical preacher of the name of Mitchell, who had been out with the armed insurrection two years before; "a youth," says Wodrow, "of much piety and zeal."! The ball missed Sharp, but wounded Honyman bishop of Orkney, who happened to be beside him, and who died of the wound a few years after. Here, again, Wodrow remarks, that "people could not help observing the righteousness of Providence in disabling Bishop Honyman," because, it seems, in former times he had written in favour of Presbyterianism!¹ The assassin made his escape through the crowd; but not before his features were distinctly seen by the primate. In order to escape from justice, he went to Holland, where he remained five years, from whence he returned with a resolution to make a second attempt on the object of his hatred. Accordingly, he came with his wife to Edinburgh, and hired a small shop within a few doors of Sharp's lodgings, where he sold tobacco and groceries. One day soon after, the primate being accidentally in Edinburgh, perceived this very man eyeing him with a malignant scowl, as if watching for an opportunity of doing him some mischief. He had him instantly arrested; and two loaded pistols, with three balls each, being found upon him, he was brought before a committee of the privy council, who, it is

¹ Another worthy of the same school, speaking of Honyman's wounds, says: "God does, as it were, beat the pen out of his hand, by a bullet that lighted on his arm and wrist."—Appendix LVI.

alleged, promised him his life if he would confess that he was the person who had attempted to shoot the primate on the former occasion. On this point, however, the accounts are conflicting. One asserts that Sharp only promised to intercede for him, on the condition of his confessing. Burnet (who disliked Sharp personally, and admits that he received his account from one of his enemies) says that he swore to Mitchell with uplifted hands, that if he would confess, no harm whatever should happen to him. The criminal, it would appear, made the required confession; after which he was taken for trial before the Lords of Justiciary, the appointed judges in all criminal cases. Some one had hinted to him, in the meantime, that he ought not confess anything; because, though he might get his life, he would probably lose his hand, and be imprisoned for the remainder of his days. Being called upon by the court to say whether he were guilty or not, he pleaded not guilty, and obstinately refused to repeat his former confession, though informed that his life could not be legally granted to him on any other condition. As therefore he withdrew his confession, the council considered themselves justified in withdrawing their conditional promise of pardon; and in the meantime, till he should think better of it, he was sent to the tolbooth, where he was imprisoned two years. At the end of that period, he was again brought before the council, and had the cruel torture of the boots applied to one of his legs, but without producing the required confession. Next, he was remanded to the Bass rock, where he was kept another two years, after which his trial was resumed, according to Laing, "at the instigation of Sharp." The evidence against him was conclusive; and was so far from being contradicted, even by himself, that when

asked by Lord Halton why he had done so execrable an act, he answered, "Because the archbishop was an enemy to the godly people in the west." His trial lasted four days; at the end of which, being found guilty by the unanimous vote of a jury consisting of fifteen gentlemen, he was condemned and executed.¹ In his last words, he declared openly that he laid down his life in opposition to the perfidious prelates, and in testimony to the cause of Christ; and blessed God that He had thought him worthy of so doing.²

The foregoing are the simple facts of the case, as far as they can be known; and it must lie with the reader to judge, whether Sharp is deserving of the odium with which his memory has been loaded for the part he took in the transaction.

It does not fall to my province to detail either the severe or the indulgent measures which were alternately pursued by the government for the purpose of reclaiming, if possible, the fanatical Covenanters; because these took place in a part of the country with which St Andrews had little or no connexion. But it is important to observe, that no person ever suffered death on account of his religion. The utmost penalty decreed by the laws, both in England and Scotland, to the frequenters of conventicles, was fine and imprisonment; nor even were these laws very rigidly enforced, when the parties behaved peaceably in other respects. When offending persons did suffer death, it was not for their

¹ See Mr Laing's account of this affair, vol. ii. p. 71; and also "Ravillac Redivivus," by the learned Dr Hicks, in the ninth volume of Lord Somers's Tracts. Dr Hicks was a contemporary, and wrote from Edinburgh at the time the event happened. He shows that Mitchell was both a wild enthusiast and a bad private character, and denies that any promise of pardon was made to him. Dr Hicks was created D.D. at St Andrews in 1678, "in a full convocation of the doctors, professors, and masters."

² Scots Worthies, p. 314.

religion, but for conspiracy and rebellion. Every one must admit, nevertheless, that while the *leaders* of the insurgent bands were deserving of the severest punishment, it was most unjustifiable to put to death their miserable *tools*, the ignorant rustics and misguided females, who had been taught the language of sedition and fanaticism, without comprehending the meaning of the words. The bishops were a very small minority in the privy council; and when present, (which was not often, for they spent their time chiefly in their dioceses,) used their best endeavours to restrain its rigorous proceedings, except when such were absolutely called for by unprovoked murder and obstinate rebellion. Archbishop Sharp had, after the Restoration, exerted his influence to save the lives of three of the most obnoxious offenders, Guthrie, Gillespie, and Simpson; and actually succeeded in saving the two last; and he continued, on several occasions, to recommend mild, as preferable to oppressive measures, though not always with success.¹ Were we indeed to believe his enemies, he was the author of nearly all the persecutions and cruelties which were exercised during that unhappy period; but such charges are utterly destitute of foundation. That Wodrow, Kirkton, Shield, the author of "*Scots Worthies*," and writers of that school, should indulge in invectives against him, is not to be wondered at, considering their deep-rooted prejudices, and undisguised hatred of Episcopacy; and that even Bishop Burnet should follow in their wake, will not seem surprising to those who are acquainted with his personal history, his violent antipathies, and vacillating character; but that respectable modern writers

¹ *Stephen's Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp*, pp. 67, 124. Wodrow carefully suppresses all evidence of this kind. Not only does he omit whole letters, but changes words in other letters to serve his purposes.—*Ibid.* p. 69.

should adopt their sentiments is indeed astonishing, and only proves how very difficult it is to eradicate a belief which has long held possession of the public mind.¹ Dr M'Crie, for example, calls Sharp "a bloody persecutor," for no reason that I have been able to discover, except that he was *ex officio* a member of the council which found it absolutely necessary to punish rebels and murderers. But was this a sufficient ground for so fearful a charge? Nothing, in truth, could be more unjust. As well might he ascribe cruelty and murder to the constituted judges of the land, for pronouncing sentence of death upon criminals condemned by the laws of their country. I am far from denying that oppressive measures were used; and if they *had* been instigated by the Church, however wrong on her part, it would not have been surprising, considering the confiscations, imprisonments, and judicial murders, which her members had suffered from the Kirk courts during the whole of the Grand Rebellion:² especially the cruel treatment of her bishops in 1638; and, subsequently, of Montrose and the royalist prisoners; the wholesale massacre of their troops, after quarter promised—far exceeding in number the Covenanters who suffered after the Restoration—all, too, at the direct instigation of the

¹ Burnet had a personal quarrel with the primate, of which he gives his own version in the "History of his Own Times," vol. i. p. 216. He very naturally tries to make himself in the right; but it was surely great presumption in a young presbyter, only twenty-three years old, publicly to censure the whole of his ecclesiastical superiors, which he admits he had done. "The chief charges against Sharp," says Guthrie, in his History of Scotland, vol. x. p. 173, "rest upon Bishop Burnet's private anecdotes, provincial traditions, and inflamed narratives, which ought to be adopted with caution." In truth, Burnet's "History of his Own Times" contains so much ill-natured abuse of everybody, especially men and women of high rank, and so much fulsome praise of his own doings, that he seems to have thought himself the only honest man in the kingdom. See Higgons' "Remarks" on the above work.

² See Chapter I. and II. *passim*.

General Assembly ; and, finally, considering the well-known determination which even the moderate Presbyterians had announced, not to grant a religious toleration, had they themselves been established by Charles II. Yet I have never been able to discover one authentic instance in which the bishops and clergy urged the civil authorities to retaliate upon their enemies ; unless I except some extracts given by Wodrow, (a most suspicious authority, as I have already proved,) of a sermon preached by a Dr Alexander Ross, before the Circuit of Justiciary in 1684, wherein he recommends the severe treatment of notorious violators of the laws, as the most effectual means of restoring public tranquillity.¹ No : the Reformed Catholic Church in Scotland has never been a persecuting Church ; it is not her nature to be so ; she has never done more than act on the defensive, and she has been even slow to do that ; while, on the other hand, she has suffered severely from the hostile aggressions of her enemies, whenever they acquired the ascendancy. But more perhaps than from even them, she has suffered from the conduct of those who called themselves her friends, while they were not. The measures which brought her into disrepute, at the period we are now reviewing, were adopted ostensibly for her advantage, by a set of temporizing legislators, who, it is remarkable, had been zealous Presbyterians before the Restoration ; were now Episcopal persecutors ; and who again, those of them who survived the Revolution, found it expedient to relapse to their former creed, and to comply with the time-serving policy of the Prince of Orange. The Church was so far from instigating these persons to persecute, that the two archbishops and the Bishop of Dunblane

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 415, 416.

often endeavoured, though to little purpose, to check their arbitrary proceedings.

The comparatively mild spirit of Episcopacy appears very remarkably in the Records of the Synod of Fife and Presbytery of St Andrews, before and after the Restoration. The chief difference between the two opposing systems lay in this: the Covenanting ministers always anticipated the civil power in seeking the punishment of their enemies; whereas the Episcopal clergy were always anticipated *by* the civil power. The latter bore long with their opponents before they took measures for the defence of their church; and then they only used such remedies as the existing laws provided. The following letter from Archbishop Sharp to the Moderator of the Presbytery of St Andrews, affords an example of this. It is dated from his residence in the "Abbey, 28th December, 1664. Reverend Brother,—Whereas, we find that Messrs James M'Gill, Robert Weems, David Guthrie, Robert Bennet, and Alexander Wedderburn, do obstinately persist in their way of separation from their brethren, and contempt of authority, and disobedience to the laws, to the great prejudice of the gospel, and scandal of the ordinary ministers thereof; therefore we shall desire you to make intimation to each of them, that if they do not appear at the next meeting of the brethren of the Exercise, which is to be holden at St Andrews, on the 11th day of January next, and then declare that they are resolved, thenceforth, to concur with their brethren in the exercise of the word and discipline, and, accordingly, give their assistance as the law doth require in all ecclesiastical meetings, for suppressing sin, and edification of the church of Christ in godliness and unity, they are to expect that, after all Christian means used for their reclaiming, we will forbear no longer to cause execute the

sentence of the diocesan synod against them. We commend you and the brethren to the Spirit and grace of Jesus Christ, in whom I am your loving brother, ST ANDREWS."¹

In April following, the above individuals, it appears, were deposed for contumacy and rebellion;² and for so acting, Sharp and his brethren have been denounced as "persecutors of godly ministers." How, I ask, could they have acted otherwise, without betraying the interests of their church, and violating the existing laws of their country?³ The same state of things is exhibited by another extract:—"April 1668—*Quakers in Mearns*.—The lord archbishop and synod being informed, that in the Mearns, in the parish of Fetteresso, are kept several conventicles, and that some of these persons interrupt some ministers in the time of public worship, and that they speak reproachfully of ministers; the pastors there are advised to be diligent in watching over their flocks, and guarding them against these errors, and wait till a course be taken by the magistrate with these disorderly persons." The other entries in the Records are all of the same character with these, whether they relate to the prosecution of reputed witches,⁴ or of their Papal,

¹ Records of the Presbytery, p. 81.

² Ibid. p. 82.

³ A majority of the Presbyterian establishment has recently, it is well known, deposed seven ministers for not obeying their *veto* law, (whereby the right of presentation to a parish is virtually transferred from the patron to the people,) after the civil courts had declared such law to be illegal, and all ministers acting upon it, liable to severe penalties. Yet this majority is the very party whose accredited writers are loudest in the condemnation of Archbishop Sharp's intolerance, who, I will venture to say, never did anything half so intolerant as this. We may not be sanguine enough to hope that men will turn from the error of their ways, but we have surely a right to expect that they will be consistent with themselves. It is, however, said that "avowed antipathies indicate real sympathies;" in other words, they who de-claim most against persecution when they suffer from it, are always themselves most disposed to persecute when they have the power.

⁴ "The Calvinists, generally speaking, were, of all the contending

Puritanical, and Quaker antagonists; though Wodrow complains, most untruly, that these prosecutions were directed exclusively against Presbyterians. Not only so, but he complains that Quakers, to whom he bore no good will, were not sufficiently prosecuted!

In 1675, there was a meeting of bishops at St Andrews, but I find no account of it except what is given by Wodrow;¹ and even he, it seems, could discover very few particulars concerning it. Ramsay bishop of Dunblane was present, who seems to have been a man of good intentions, but of a restless temper, and desirous of making innovations. What was the subject of discussion at the meeting does not appear; but Ramsay behaved so offensively, that Sharp ordered him to withdraw. He retired accordingly, but wrote a letter to his brethren, complaining of the affront put upon him, and recommending a convocation of the whole clergy. This last proposal was effectually opposed by the primate, who saw no good that could arise out of it. He and Ramsay soon after met in London, where two long letters passed between them. Ramsay's letter is, I think, characterized by petulance; the primate's by firmness and forbearance; but readers can judge for themselves by referring to Wodrow, who has given copies of them. "Which of them," says this writer, "spoke truth, I cannot determine; but *one of them must be a liar*, for

sects, the most suspicious of sorcery, the most undoubted believers in its existence, and the most eager to follow it up with what they conceived to be the due punishment of the most fearful of crimes. While the divines of the Church of England possessed the upper hand in the kingdom, witchcraft (though trials, and even condemnation for that offence occasionally occurred) did not create that epidemic terror which the very suspicion of the offence carried with it elsewhere."—*Sir Walter Scott on Demonology*, Letter viii. These effects he elsewhere shows to be the natural results of their respective creeds.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 300, &c.

they flatly contradict each other." The letters certainly exhibit a difference of opinion, and take an opposite view of the same facts, as is the case in most controversies; but I can see no grounds whatever for calling either of them by the odious name of a *liar*. Ramsay, it appears, submitted in the end: but so anxious is Wodrow to criminate the archbishop, that he prefaces his account of the matter with these words,—“The primate’s carriage in this affair will be a new instance of that anti-Christian spirit of persecution and pride he was possessed with.”

After an administration of eighteen years, Sharp, as is well known, was cruelly murdered by a party of ruffians to whom he had made himself obnoxious. Their conspiracy against him arose out of a quarrel which he had with one Haxton of Rathillet and his brother-in-law Balfour of Kinloch,¹ about some money due to him, which they resisted, while he took legal means to compel payment. This so exasperated them, that they engaged a party of seven Covenanters who were too happy to wreak their vengeance on the primate on religious grounds.² With their help, they way-laid him on Magus Muir near St Andrews, as he was travelling home in his coach from Edinburgh, accompanied by his eldest daughter. But here we will allow his biographer to describe what occurred on his part immediately previous to the murder:—

¹ The Balfour of Burley so famous in “Old Mortality.” He subsequently joined the Prince of Orange, in Holland, in order “to be avenged on those who persecuted the Lord’s cause and people in Scotland,” but died at sea on his voyage home.—*Scots Worthies*, p. 522.

² The story of their having gone out in search of one Carmichael, and falling in accidentally with the archbishop, rests on no good foundation, and is expressly contradicted by the author of “The True and Impartial Account.” The coincidence between the murderers of Sharp and those of Cardinal Beaton is remarkable. They consisted, in both cases, of men who were actuated, some by mercenary incentives, some by revengeful feelings, and others by religious fanaticism.

“ Upon Friday, May 2, he determined to take journey to St Andrews, with a design to return upon Monday to Edinburgh, and thence to begin his journey for court. On Friday evening he reached Kennoway, where he lodged that night; in which, and next morning, he was observed to have eaten or drunk very little, but was known to have been very fervent and longer than ordinary in his devotions; as if God, out of his great mercy, had thereby prepared him for what he was to meet with from the worst of men. His religious behaviour was so much taken notice of that morning by the pious and learned Dr Monro, (who had come to wait on him,) that he said he believed he was inspired. So, on Saturday May 3d, he entered his coach with his daughter Isabel, and went on in his journey. All the way he entertained her with religious discourses, particularly of the vanity of life, the certainty of death and judgment, of the necessity of faith, good works, and repentance, and daily growth in grace,” &c.¹ The circumstances of his murder have often been described.² Let it suffice to say here, that the assassins, after making themselves masters of the servants and horses, dragged the unfortunate prelate out of his coach, and despatched him with many wounds. Instead of trying to escape, they retired to a neighbouring cottage, where they devoted several hours to *prayer*. They felt no fear or compunction, but thanked God that he had enabled them to accomplish this glorious work, and asked strength that they might, if necessary, seal it with their blood! Danziel, one of the fanatics, declared that, in answer to this prayer, he heard a voice from heaven saying, “ Well done, good and faithful servants.”³

¹ True and Impartial Account, p. 72.

² See the Letter of the archbishop's son, Appendix LI.

³ See an account of the murder by Russell, one of the number, at

The spot where the archbishop was murdered is called "Bishop's Wood," on the property of J. Whyte Melville, Esq.; and lies three miles west from the town. A rude stone is erected upon it to the memory of Andrew Guilan, one of the assassins. This man had been a weaver in Balmerino. He was tried, found guilty, and executed at Edinburgh, four years after the murder; his head was fixed up at Cupar, according to the practice of the times, and his body hung in chains on Magus Muir; but it was taken down by some of his friends, and buried on the spot. The inscription on the stone is as follows:—

A faithful martyr here doth lye,
A witness against perjury,
Who cruelly was put to death
To gratify proud prelate's wrath.
They cut his hands ere he was dead,
And after that struck off his head.
To Magus Muir then did him bring,
His body on a pole did hing.
His blood under the altar cries
For vengeance on Christ's enemies.

This affords a specimen of the spirit which animated the Covenanters, and the little regard they paid to truth, in their anxiety to blacken their enemies. Guilan's friends ascribe his just trial and execution to "cruelty" and "proud prelate's wrath;" they convert a murderer into a "faithful martyr;" and they make *his* blood cry for vengeance, who himself assisted in shedding that of an innocent victim. It is remarkable that this man, and Haxton of Rathillet, of all the nine who were engaged in the murder, were the only two that were ever taken. Haxton, who is called by Wodrow a person of "remarkable piety," (and is

the end of K. Sharpe's edition of Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland. In the archbishop's pocket were found, a ball of coloured silk, and a piece of parchment with some Hebrew characters, which the fanatics considered as undoubted magical charms, and proofs of his dealings with the devil!

canonized among the "Scots worthies!") was made prisoner at the skirmish at Aird-Moss in 1680, and was tried and executed at Edinburgh. When before the Court of Justiciary, he declined the king's authority, as "an usurper of the prerogative of Jesus Christ, whereby he had involved the land in idolatry, perjury, and wickedness;" and the members of the court, as "open and stated enemies to the living God."¹ His body was divided into four parts, one of which was sent to St Andrews. About a stone's-throw to the west of Guillan's monument, in an open field, there is the grave of five men who were taken prisoners at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, in June 1679. There had been thirty of these prisoners in all. "The Justiciars," says Fountainhall,² "tried the prisoners with great lenity; for they took them severally one by one, and obtested and entreated them to take the bond never to rise in arms hereafter against the king or his authority." Twenty-six of these complied, one was acquitted, because not taken in arms, and the remaining five, who refused all compromise, were tried and condemned to death, for (among other charges) "protecting the murderers of Archbishop Sharp; contriving the overthrow of the fundamental laws of church and state; declaring the king an usurper; and denying that their being taken in arms against his majesty was rebellion." Their sentence was, that "they be carried to the Muir of Magus in the sheriffdom of Fife, the place where his grace the Archbishop of St Andrews was murdered, upon the 18th November instant, and there be hanged till they be dead, and their bodies to be hung in chains till they rot, and all their lands, goods, and gear, to fall to his majesty's use."³ There was the following inscription to their memory on a

¹ Scots Worthies, p. 343.

² Decisions, vol. i. p. 62.

³ Ibid. vol. i. p. 62.

stone which is now destroyed: "Here lies Thomas Brown, James Wood, Andrew —, John Weddell, and John Clide, who suffered martyrdom on Magus Muir, for their adherence to the word of God and Scotland's covenanted work of Reformation. November 25, 1679." But to return:

The remains of the murdered prelate were removed to his house in St Andrews, from which, after thirteen days, they were conveyed to the parish church, and interred with unusual solemnity. A numerous and mournful train accompanied the funeral procession, consisting of many of the principal persons in Scotland; the magistrates of Edinburgh, St Andrews, and the adjacent burghs; the professors of the university; the clergy of the diocese; the Lords of Council and Session; the bishops of Scotland; the Lord Chancellor; the Privy Council and a number of the nobility and gentry.¹ The Bishop of Edinburgh preached the funeral sermon; while the coffin lay before the pulpit, on which was placed the bloody gown in which the archbishop had been murdered. The church was hung in mourning; while ranged around were the standards, escutcheons, crosier, and mitre, which had been carried in the procession. A marble monument is erected against the inner wall of the church, over his grave, the work of a Dutch artist. It has been a very perfect and beautiful piece of workmanship; but has suffered from neglect and sectarian malevolence.² Surmounting the

¹ See the order of the funeral procession in Appendix LII.

² Extract from the Town Records, 6th September 1725: "The church having been broken into, and the bishop's tomb destroyed, council agree to advertise for the discovery of the perpetrators. Copy of Advertisement.—'Whereas, certain ryotous and disorderlie persons did, on the — day June last, break into the church of St Andrews through one of the windows, in the night-time, and while the doors were locked, and did then break and deface the monument of the late Archbishop of St Andrews, and stole and carryed away some of the marble belonging to the same; and whereas the magistrates, min-

whole, is an emblematical representation of the archbishop upholding the church. Next below, are two angels with wings extended, supporting the shield, mitre, and crosiers. Then the primate is seen kneeling; while another angel, in the attitude of flying, is exchanging the crown for the mitre, *pro mitra coronam*, which from that time became the motto of his family. Under this is an elegant urn, on the side of which is inscribed the epitaph; and at the foot of the whole is a representation of the murder, executed in low-relief. In the background of the picture, are the assassins in close pursuit of the coach, which contains the primate and his daughter, and is driving at full speed with six horses. In the foreground is the unhappy primate on his knees, fainting and dying under his wounds; while his daughter, at a little distance, is rudely hindered by two of the ruffians from running to her father's assistance.¹ The following is a translation of the inscription on the marble urn:—

isters, and kirk-session of St Andrews, are bound by contract to adhibit their exact care and diligence to keep and preserve the said monument entire in its original lustre, unspoiled and undeformed in any sort, and have on that account received a considerable yearly mortification for the relief of poor indigent and distressed people. This is therefore to give notice to any person who will discover those who have been guilty of that wicked robbery and cryme, so as they may be brought to justice, shall receive ten pounds sterling of reward, one half to be payed by the magistrates of St Andrews, and the other half by Sir James Sharp of Stratyrum, baronet; and if any person concerned in the said cryme will discover his accomplices, he shall lykeways be freed from prosecution or trouble on that account.' Both the "mortification" and the "contract" here alluded to, have been allowed to disappear, to the loss, probably, of the poor, but certainly to the injury of the monument.

¹ See the frontispiece to this volume. I may here remark, that there is a very fine engraving published, representing Sharp's murder, though a different design from the above. In the background, are two of the assassins searching among papers, and particularly (as the "key" to the engraving states) "for a pardon granted by the king to nine men, which the archbishop kept up." Painters are at all times bad historians; but the author of this "key" should have remembered the ninth commandment, and not have lent the aid of his

D. O. M.

Under this lofty mausoleum are laid the precious remains of a most pious prelate, a most prudent senator, and a most holy martyr,
The most reverend father in Christ,

JAMES SHARP, D.D.

Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of all Scotland, &c. ;
whom

the university, as a professor of philosophy and theology ;
the Church, as a presbyter, a doctor, and a ruler ;
Scotland, as a chief minister both of her civil and ecclesiastical affairs ;
Britain, as the adviser of the restoration of Charles II. and of monarchy ;
the Christian world, as the restorer of Episcopacy and good order in
Scotland ;

saw, acknowledged, and admired ;
and whom,

notwithstanding all this, a band of nine parricides, through the fury of fanaticism, in the light of noonday, and in the vicinity of his metropolitan city, cruelly murdered, with many wounds from pistols, swords, and daggers, while his eldest daughter and domestics, wounded and weeping, sought to protect him, and when he himself had
fallen on his knees,

to implore mercy in their behalf,
on the 3d of May 1679, and
in the 61st year of his age.

The archbishop, not anticipating the overthrow of an established Episcopacy, presented to the parish church of his metropolitan city, a few years before his death, a massive silver baptismal basin and communion cup, which are still used in that church on all Presbyterian sacramental occasions. The two together weigh one hundred and two ounces, each having these words inscribed upon it, "In usum ecclesiæ parochialis civitatis Seti. Andree, donavit Jacobus archiepiscopus, anno 1675."

Sharp's seal has upon it St Andrew holding his pencil to the propagation of one of the foulest charges that could be brought against a man, and that man a most exemplary Christian prelate. This is one of those "enormous lies" with which Sharp's enemies have but too successfully blackened his memory ; and, as an instance how an unfounded calumny refutes itself—the assassins are searching in the archbishop's travelling trunk, in the year 1679, for a pardon said to have been granted by the king immediately after the Pentland insurrection of 1666 ! See p. 77.

cross with his left hand, and a crosier in his right. The family shield is below, and the surrounding words: "Sigillum R. D. Jacobi Sharpi archiepiscopi St Andrews 1661." On each side of the apostle is a triple scroll, on the first of which is the legend: "Sacratum ecclesias, deo, regi." On the second, "Auspicio Car. II. ecclesia instaurata."

CHAPTER IV.

Lives and Times of the Archbishops of St Andrews, from the succession of Alexander Burnet in 1679, till the deprivation of Arthur Ross at the Revolution of 1688.

XLVIII. ALEXANDER BURNET, A.D. 1679-1684.

AT the beginning of this episcopate, the king renewed an order which he had formerly issued, authorizing the two Scottish archbishops to recommend "fit and qualified persons to fill the higher offices of the Church;" promising to adhere to their recommendation, from having already "seen good and acceptable effects" arise from such a course.¹

Burnet had formerly held a rectory in England, from which he was ejected by the Puritans in the year 1650. After this he went abroad, and was fortunate enough to be of some service to Charles II., in procuring private intelligence for him from his friends in England. For this, and through some interest he had besides, independent of his personal merits which were of the highest order, he was made Bishop of

¹ See a copy of this document, Appendix LIII.

Aberdeen in 1663, and was consecrated at St Andrews by Archbishop Sharp, "some other bishops being present at that time."¹ The year following he was translated to Glasgow; and, after Sharp's murder, to St Andrews. When in the see of Glasgow, he was so unfortunate as to incur the displeasure of the Earl of Lauderdale, whom no one ever offended with impunity. This nobleman was professedly a Presbyterian, and almost as great an enemy to the Episcopalians as he was to the Covenanters. It has even been alleged, and with some appearance of truth, that one of the reasons of his extreme cruelty to the latter, was to excite popular odium against the former. If such were his object, he certainly succeeded. His speech to Sharp, when he learnt he was to be made Archbishop of St Andrews, is well known. "Mr Sharp," he said, "bishops you are to have in Scotland, and you, I hear, are to be Archbishop of St Andrews; but, whoever shall be the man, I will smite him and his order under the fifth rib." And he was as good as his word.

Burnet had complained to the king of Lauderdale's unnecessary severity to the Covenanters, and recommended more lenient measures.² The king, who was naturally good-natured, approved of this recommendation, and gave the earl instructions to proceed in conformity with it. For this interference on the part of the archbishop, and with a view to gratify his spleen against him, he determined to make the whole Episcopal order feel the weight of his vengeance, and to stab them "under the fifth rib." Accordingly, he introduced into parliament, in the year 1669, the famous act of *Indulgence*, the meaning of which was, that ministers dissenting from the established church might

¹ Lamont's Diary.

² See Keith's Catalogue, *in loco*.

be permitted to hold benefices in it, without, in any respect, acknowledging the jurisdiction of its bishops. In short, like the Roman Catholic doctrine which passes under that name, it gave a license to practise every kind of ecclesiastical irregularity without any fear of suffering. Such a system, it was apparent, no established church could approve, under any circumstances: yet Lauderdale had the address to persuade both the king and the parliament, that it was necessary for the tranquillity of the kingdom. The more violent Covenanters repudiated the notion of accepting any religious favour whatever from Charles's government; and railed very bitterly against those who took the Indulgence, even on terms where all the advantage lay with themselves, and all the disadvantage with their opponents; but a considerable number of the more moderate Presbyterians availed themselves of it; and, among others, Mr Robert Douglas, who had, since the Restoration, joined the Episcopal church, in obedience to the laws, as a private individual, but was now admitted as Presbyterian minister of the parish of Pencaithland.¹

Burnet, and the clergy of his diocese, took the lead in their opposition to this mischievous measure; which was so far from being a healing one, as it professed to be, that it split the established church into two hostile parties, and made the minority independent of the majority. This opposition to his own act so provoked Lauderdale, that he brought into parliament, and carried, a still more offensive and oppressive one, namely, the *Assertory Act*, which conferred on the king the exclusive power to change, at his pleasure, "the external government and polity of the Church" in Scotland.

¹ Wodrow and M'Crie condemn the ministers who accepted the Indulgence as guilty of a "sinful compliance;" though the only sufferers from it were the bishops and clergy.

The whole of the bishops united in strenuous opposition to this measure, which, however, did not prevent the king from so far acting upon it, as, at the instigation of Lauderdale, to suspend Archbishop Burnet, and place Leighton bishop of Dunblane in his room. This most obnoxious bill was repealed, after it had been in operation two years; but not before several of the bishops and clergy had suffered by their conscientious refusal to comply with it. Burnet was not restored to his archbishopric till the year 1674. Wodrow, for this conduct on the part of Burnet, accuses him, first, of acting contrary to his "passive obedience" principles, and then of tamely submitting to the royal sentence of ecclesiastical deprivation. It is very difficult to make writers of that school comprehend the simple scriptural, though unfashionable and unpalatable, doctrine of what is called (improperly, perhaps,) "passive obedience." Burnet, on this occasion, acted in strict conformity with it; that is, he dutifully obeyed the *lawful* commands of his sovereign, and he patiently suffered for disobeying his *unlawful* ones. The Presbyterians of that age did neither one nor the other. So far from dutifully obeying all lawful commands, they would not obey even the most indifferent, if unsuited to their taste: and so far from patiently suffering for their disobedience to unlawful commands, (or those which they considered to be so,) that they took up arms to force the government to rescind them.¹

I have not been able to find many particulars con-

¹ The almost universal admiration with which the well-known engraving of the "Battle of Drumclog" is regarded by Presbyterians, is an apt illustration of the doctrine of "resistance," which to this day they contend for. The sinfulness of the opposition which the Covenanters are there represented as making to *constituted authority*, would, I think, be clearly manifested by writing under the picture, "If, when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it *patiently*, this is acceptable with God." 1 Pet. ii. 20.

cerning Burnet during the five years of his primacy. The Records of the Presbytery, under date the 29th October 1679, has this entry regarding the ceremony of his translation from Glasgow to St Andrews:—"This day the presbytery met in the town kirk, but without any public exercise, in regard that Dr Moor, who was appointed to have it, did yesterday preach by appointment from my Lord St Andrews, at the translation of the Archbishop of Glasgow to the archbishopric of St Andrews, and the consecration of the Bishop of Argyll." In the same book we find an account of the recantation of one James Canneria, who had been a Romanist, and his reception into the reformed church. This ceremony occurred in January 1682, in the parish church of St Andrews, in the presence of the clergy of the presbytery, and the assembled congregation, Archdeacon Moore being the chief officiating minister.

Martine of Claremont, secretary of the late Archbishop Sharp, and the learned author of the "*Reliquiæ*," dedicates this last-mentioned work to Archbishop Burnet, in the year 1683. In his dedication he says, that his great design is to "preserve a just esteem for the worthy prelates of this see, and to beget an utter abhorrence of sacrilege, schism, and rebellion;" crimes which, among our countrymen at that unhappy time, were so common that they were scarcely reckoned to be crimes. Martine then alludes to the archbishop's "exemplary and inflexible virtues, piety, and honour, (as much above flattery as your grace does generously despise it,) that have justly raised your grace beyond the reach of their malice, under whose tongues lies the poison of asps." Burnet died at St Andrews, and was buried in St Salvator's church, near the tomb of Bishop Kennedy. If there be any monumental inscription to his memory, it must be on the pavement,

which is covered by the planks with which the church is floored. Certainly there should have been one to the Primate of Scotland; and, if there be, it should be visible.

Wodrow says of him, that "he was a mighty bigot for the English ceremonies and forms, and as forward to have all the usages of that church introduced in Scotland, as if he had been educated by Bishop Laud." In plain words, he loved the English Liturgy, and would gladly have introduced it into his own church, if the fretful temper of the times, and the restless spirit of his countrymen, had permitted him.

He left a piece of land in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, for the benefit, it is said, of the poor of the guildry for ever, which goes under the name of "Bishop Burnet's acre," and now yields £5 10s. per annum; but the deed of bequest has been lost or mislaid, and the rent is drawn by the town for its own purposes. But, from its general revenue, something is, I understand, given annually to the poor. This is not the only instance in which the change of religion at the Revolution has been injurious to Episcopal bequests, (see pp. 96, 98, and note in chap. x.,) both as to the intention of the donor, and the class of persons to be benefited.¹

XLIX. ARTHUR ROSS, A.D. 1684–1688.

This last archbishop of St Andrews had possessed, in succession, the sees of Argyll, Galloway, and Glasgow, before being translated to the primacy. He had been educated at this university; after which he became minister of Old Deer, in Aberdeenshire, and then one of the ministers of Glasgow. I have been able to

¹ I have never seen any seal of Archbishop Burnet or his successor; but in the Records of the Synod of Fife, lately printed, there is an engraving of two very old seals, having on them a representation of St Regulus's church and tower, and below them, the signatures of Archbishops Gladstones, Burnet, and Ross.

collect very few particulars concerning his personal history, and must, therefore, confine myself chiefly to the general history of the Church during his brief though eventful episcopate ; but I have now before me a copy of a letter addressed to him, when minister of Old Deer, in the year 1664, by the late Primate Burnet, then Archbishop of Glasgow, offering him a situation in that city, of £1200 Scots, per annum ; for which he was to preach “only once every Lord’s day, and once on a week day, unless it be at communions, or some such extraordinary occasions.” The archbishop further evinces his good opinion of him, by requesting him to “engage some deserving persons to come this way for supplying our vacancies, and at meeting, and I shall study to provide for them as you think their parts and experience do deserve.”¹

In 1686, the removal of the penal statutes, and the proclamation of liberty of conscience by James II., were manifestly meant to admit Roman Catholics to hold civil offices under government. The consequence of resisting this measure, on the part of the Church of England, was the sending seven of her bishops to the Tower ; and, in Scotland, either two or three bishops were deprived of their sees for the same cause. On this trying occasion, the primate and the Bishop of Edinburgh went to London, where they drew up and subscribed a paper, in which, after acknowledging that “it was most reasonable in his majesty to take off the sanguinary laws against popery, especially as they had fallen into desuetude for many years ;” they conclude with these words : “For, as we are clearly determined, by God’s grace, to continue firm and con-

¹ I have also a copy of a deed by the provost and dean of guild of Glasgow, conferring the freedom of their city upon him when he was Bishop of Argyll, in 1675.

stant in the reformed Protestant religion, so also are we to serve our most gracious majesty, and to comply with his proposals and desires, *as far as they do consist with the safety of our consciences and religion*; upon which we assure ourselves his majesty's grace and goodness will never impose." This proves, at once, the tolerant spirit, the Protestant resolution, and the inflexible loyalty which animated the breasts of these deserving but ill-treated men.

Early in the year 1688, Archbishop Ross, in his capacity of Chancellor of the university of St Andrews, and in conjunction with the vice-chancellor, rector, archdeacon, and regents, sent up a loyal address to James II. In this document, which is much too long for insertion here, they begin by adverting to the constant liberality of the royal family of the Stuarts to their church and university. They then proceed to expatiate on the nature and principles of government generally,—God, not the people, the only source of power—absolute power must reside somewhere in every regularly-constituted society—the superiority of an hereditary monarchy over every other form of government—more evil to be feared from popular excesses than from absolute power—the monarchy never to be resisted—and to be disobeyed only when it opposes Scripture—Buchanan's notions on this point refuted &c. The address is signed by

Arthur, archbishop and chancellor; Alexander Skein, vice-chancellor; Richard Waddell, archdeacon; James Lorimer, D.D.; Charles Kinnaird, regent; John Menzies, regent; Alexander Skein, regent; Patrick M'Gill, regent; William Comory, regent; James Ross, regent; John Munro, regent.

In conformity with the principles contained in the above document, as soon as Ross and his brother bishops in Scotland heard of the attempts that were

being made by the Prince of Orange and his party to dispossess James of his throne, they assembled in Edinburgh, and sent up a dutiful address to their unfortunate monarch, in which they give thanks to God for his protection hitherto extended to him; and also to the king himself for his favour to their church; at the same time expressing their dismay at hearing of the intended invasion from Holland. They finish by saying, "As, by the grace of God, we shall preserve in ourselves a firm and unshaken loyalty, so we shall be careful and zealous to promote in all your subjects an interminable and steadfast allegiance to your majesty, *as an essential part of their religion*, and of the glory of our holy profession; not doubting but that God, in his great mercy, who hath so often preserved and delivered your majesty, will still preserve and deliver you, by giving you the hearts of your subjects, and 'the necks of your enemies.' So we pray," &c. Signed by twelve bishops, and dated 3d November 1688.

To the foregoing letter they received an answer from the king, dated at Whitehall, the 15th of the same month, in which he thanks them for "the dutiful expressions of your loyalty to us in a time when all arts are used to seduce our subjects from their duty to us. We do likewise take notice of your diligence in your duty, by your inculcating to those under your charge those principles which have always been owned, taught, and published by that Protestant loyal church you are truly members of. We do assure you of our royal protection to you, your religion, church, and clergy, and that we will be careful of your concerns whenever there shall be a suitable occasion offered to us."

Before it was quite certain how matters were tending, Bishop Alexander Ross of Edinburgh, and Bruce bishop of Orkney, were desired to go up to London on the part of their brethren, to see what could be

done for the Church, "as far as law, reason, and conscience, would allow;" but the latter falling sick, the Bishop of Edinburgh was obliged to go alone. This prelate has given a full account of his mission, and of its unsuccessful termination.¹ There can be no doubt that William would have upheld the Episcopal church, had her bishops and clergy been willing to acknowledge him as king *de jure* as well as *de facto*; but this they could not possibly do, after the solemn and unconditional oath of allegiance which they had taken to James. That oath was: "I do promise to be true and faithful to the king and his heirs; and truth and faith to bear, of life and limb, and terrene honour; and not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended him, without defending him therefrom." According to their interpretation of God's word, no misconduct of James could release them from the bond of this sacred engagement. They were willing, if permitted, to abide quietly under the rule of him who was in possession of the sceptre; but renounce their plighted faith to their legitimate sovereign and his lawful heirs, they could not and would not. And yet it is well known that the great majority of the people in Scotland were at this time Episcopalian, the covenanting Presbyterians being almost entirely confined to the south-western districts of the country. Bishop Sage, who was a contemporary, and a man of candour, tells us that there were not above three or four Presbyterian meeting-houses north of the Tay; that all the parochial clergy, except about twenty, were decided Episcopalian, besides being almost all men of piety and learning; and that there were not fifty Scottish gentlemen out of the south-west favourable to Presbyterianism. Under these circumstances, what might

¹ Keith's Catalogue, *in loco*.

not the Church have gained by *agitation* and *intrigue*, if her principles would have allowed her to do evil that good might come? But the clamour and violence of the Presbyterians on the one hand, and the non-resistance and unobtrusive principles of the Episcopalians on the other, led William's government to suppose that the former were far more numerous, and the latter far less so than was the case. "Thus it always happens," says a modern historian,¹ "in revolutions. The most violent put themselves forward; their vigilance and activity seems to multiply their numbers; and the daring of the few wins the ascendancy over the indolence or the pusillanimity of the many." It was not, however, indolence or pusillanimity on the part of the Church which led to its downfall as an establishment, but a calm and holy resolution to suffer the loss of all things, rather than violate its oath, and betray its legitimate sovereign. There is more true courage in suffering patiently for the cause of truth, than in fighting and dying for it. Whether the Episcopalians "did well" or ill, will be judged of differently by different persons; but that they "suffered" for their conduct, and "took it patiently," is unquestionable; and that is more than can be said for their opponents when placed under like circumstances.

Bishop Ross, in the letter already quoted, entertains no doubt that King William was sincere in his proposal to protect the Episcopal church, and abandon the Presbyterians. "I am the more confirmed in this," says he, "that after my down-coming here, my Lord St Andrews and I, taking occasion to wait upon Duke Hamilton, his grace told us, a day or two before the sitting down of the Convention, that he had it in special charge from King William, that nothing should be

¹ Dr Lingard,

done to the prejudice of Episcopacy in Scotland, in case the bishops could by any means be brought to befriend his interest ; and prayed us most pathetically, for our own sake, to follow the example of the Church of England. To which my Lord St Andrews replied, that both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most solemn oaths, we were engaged in the king's interest ; and that we were, by God's grace, to stand by it in the face of all dangers, and to the greatest losses."¹ This, at least, proved uncommon magnanimity and disinterestedness on the part of the Scottish bishops, however differently different persons may judge as to their principles. My own opinion is, that they were right; and that to have acted otherwise would have been doing evil that good might come.² Much inferior examples of integrity have been lauded in the most extravagant terms, while the unpretending virtues of these persecuted prelates have been overlooked or forgotten, and their good evil spoken of. Not only were they stripped of their worldly goods, and driven from

¹ Bishop Burnet (with his usual regard for veracity, when speaking of those whom he dislikes, especially non-jurors,) says of Archbishop Ross : "He was a poor, ignorant, worthless man ; but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent, that they supplied all other defects." This precious morsel Dr Burns takes care to repeat for the benefit of his readers. Let the foregoing facts concerning this good man and sorely tried primate declare whether this be a just character of him ? It was surely no proof of weakness and worthlessness to suffer patiently the loss of all things, without trial and without crime, because he would not violate his oaths, and change with the times. Few writers have more calumnies to answer for than the Bishop of Salisbury, unless it be the ministers of Eastwood and Paisley.

² If the nation could expel James from the throne, much more could it hinder him from overturning the established religion of Great Britain and Ireland. Besides, have not subsequent kings and parliaments done more for the Roman Catholics than he ever thought of doing ? and yet, are so far from being condemned for it, that they are praised by the very same persons who are loudest in their condemnation of James ! Truly "*tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*" If all kings who do unpopular acts were to be banished from their thrones, very few would long retain possession of them.

their homes, but their apostolical church was deprived of all that man could take from it. Its holy places were given to others, and its clergy were personally maltreated by the licensed fury of a disorderly band of their enemies. And all this, through no fault of theirs, either real or alleged, but from their stern adherence to principle, and the operation of causes over which they had no control. In short, nothing was left them but their spiritual character and a good conscience, of which it was not in the power of man to rob them. Yet the author of "The State and Sufferings of the Presbyterians," calls these venerable and conscientious men "time-servers, court-flatterers; and ready, for anything I can discover in their writings, to fall in with popery itself, to please the king and keep their places."¹ But wisdom is justified of her children; and from what we have already seen of Wodrow's propensities, his obloquy will be thought, by all right-minded persons, more desirable than his praise.

I pass over, as unconnected with St Andrews, the *rabbling* of the Episcopal clergy by the more violent Presbyterians in the south-west of Scotland, whereby, in a few weeks, two hundred of their number were driven out of their manses in the middle of winter, under circumstances of extreme barbarity, unchecked by the civil authorities. Let it suffice to say, that the Convention of Estates in Edinburgh soon systematically completed what the mob had lawlessly commenced. James, for being a Roman Catholic, was declared to have "forfaulted his right to the crown;" and it was farther decreed, that "prelacy, and the superiority of any office above presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and intolerable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 468.

generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished."¹

And now commenced a series of vexatious proceedings against the Episcopalians, on the part both of the state and the new ecclesiastical establishment. The clergy were obliged to quit their livings; and the bishops were instantly deprived of their incomes, government sacrilegiously applying them to its own use, though, at the Reformation, the Roman Catholic prelates were allowed to enjoy two-thirds of their benefices for the remainder of their lives. It is true that, in some cases, the Episcopal clergy were permitted to retain their livings, for want of others to take their place, or because their parishioners refused to part with them; but on conditions which very few of them could comply with. They were required to pray *by name* for William and Mary, as the *de jure* sovereigns of the realm; they were subjected to many vexatious annoyances from the Kirk courts; they were required to keep certain Sundays as fast days; and they were forbidden, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to use the doxology in their public services, or to make the sign of the cross in baptism.²

But it is time that I should return to St Andrews. Dr Richard Waddell, who had been archdeacon, and as such, senior minister of the town church, refusing to comply with the conditions imposed upon him, resigned his charge, but continued to officiate to the Episcopalians in the city till his death. As to the primate,

¹ It would be foreign to my purpose to controvert these assertions; but Bishop Sage has done so, in his "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery," in a most masterly manner. Unfortunately, however, for the cause of truth, such works are on the unpopular side, and are little read.

² Lawson's History of the Episcopal Church since the Revolution, p. 128-136.

I regret my inability to furnish any additional particulars concerning him, except that he died at Edinburgh in the year 1704, and is supposed to be buried at Restalrig. His daughter Anne married Lord Balmerino, whose son Arthur was executed for being out with Prince Charles in 1745. I may be permitted to add, that I wrote to a venerable Jacobite lady, a descendant of the archbishop through another line, to inquire if she could direct me to any source where I could learn more concerning him. The following is an extract from her answer:—"Arthur lord Balmerinoch, his grandson and nameson, had undertaken to be the biographer of his grace, and had collected all the best materials for the purpose, viz., letters from the Prince of Orange, from the King of France, from Prince James, the bishops of England and Ireland; in short, all the great names of the day; and was busied with a talented scholar at this work, when the ill-fated hero of Culloden cast himself into Scotland. Now, whether these documents are still in the deposits of his nearest kin, the following families,—the Earl of Moray, Balfour of Fernie, Robertson of Inches, John Crawford Aitkensson, Sir John Malcolm of Grange,—I know not. I am certain, from circumstances, they did not fall into the hands of the confiscators; and those with me, (who am the only other surviving branch of his only grand-daughter,) are on secular subjects, wherein the archbishop acted as a trustee for properties once in our family. They testify to the rectitude of his mind, and his excellent private character; but if the above documents could be recovered, they would be at once interesting and creditable to the Church; for neither threats nor favours would tempt those good men to cede a principle, or teach others to make light of oaths once taken. So very deeply was the loss of Arthur of

Balmerinoch felt by the whole connexion—for he was truly amiable—that the half-finished work was hushed up in the awful and almost unjust catastrophe which severed his warm heart from our widely-lamenting family; and thus his very purpose was quenched in his blood, and was a subject never touched on, unless mentioned as one of his last employments by those now passed from this life themselves, but whom I remember to have seen drink to his memory on the anniversary of his birth-day, with much affectionate respect. I would not have troubled you with these bygone griefs, but to account for the non-appearance of those papers, more the property of the Church than of any individual, and to point out where they may be sought.”

I have only to add a very few words respecting the change which took place in this university at the Revolution; and this I cannot do better than by again quoting Skinner.¹

“The visitation of St Andrews was managed by the Earl of Crawford as president, who acted with remarkable harshness and severity; and was much blamed, even by his friends, for his rough, uncivil behaviour to the masters; particularly the reverend Dean, old Dr Weems principal of St Leonard’s college, who had been a regent forty-five years, and had taught Crawford his philosophy: yet my lord would not allow him the favour of a seat; and when the old man’s infirmities obliged him to rest himself on the step of a stair, he sent an officer of court to raise him, and make him stand. So, under this imperious censor, the masters of this university were all turned out, by the General Commission, on the 25th September 1690, and the place left without any face of education for a long time.”

¹ Vol. ii. p. 555.

Non-resistance to constituted authority was the principle of the spiritual governors of the church ; and on this they acted, instead of agitating the country, as they might easily have done, had they been disposed, at a time when at least two-thirds of the inhabitants acknowledged their control.

Thus was an apostolical Episcopacy of more than one thousand six hundred years' standing in the Church of Christ, superseded by a religious polity of little more than one hundred years' duration, reckoning from the date of its origin at Geneva ; which polity continues to be the national establishment. Its adopted motto is "*Nec tamen consumebatur*," which must be considered as somewhat bold, if not boastful, when we remember that it had no existence at all till the close of the sixteenth century,—that it expired twice during the seventeenth, under the direction of its own zealous partisans,—and that at this moment, under the *same* direction, it seems once more flickering to its extinction.

Twice has Scotland now deliberately renounced a reformed Catholicism, after having been twice solemnly conferred upon her ; and in so doing, incurred, as we must think who believe in its divine origin, no small degree of national guilt. But let not the Church complain. Her downfall as an establishment arose from no fault of hers ; and was doubtless permitted by divine providence for wise purposes. Let us hope that good may ere long come out of evil. Though we have been persecuted, we are not forsaken ; though cast down, we are not destroyed. A large proportion of the upper classes are still faithful, though not so zealous in the good cause as we could wish to see them. The college which is about to be instituted among us, cannot fail, if supported, to extend the cause of "*evangelical truth and apostolic order*," by means of the "*sound learning and religious education*" which it will

impart to all who resort to it. To use the words of a modern writer,¹ "So long as the Church in Scotland fulfils her trust faithfully and firmly, she has nothing to fear from the various forms of error by which she is surrounded. But if she should venture upon the practice of any sinful compromise, either with Rome on the one hand, or Geneva on the other, her days of prosperity would be soon brought to a close. Her strength at present consists in her genuine attachment to primitive truth and order; and she has only to carry out her truly catholic system, according to the rubrics of her Service Book, to let all men see the treasures of which she is possessed. She may no doubt meet with much obloquy and reproach from without, on the part of those who are unhappily ignorant of her real position as the Church of Christ in this land; and it is possible that a traitor may be found here and there within her walls, who would, in the exercise of unlicensed interpretation, consent to place her upon a level with the numerous human societies which have usurped the ministerial office, without being duly called to it according to God's ordinance. But such things, it is to be hoped, will not deter her from pursuing her way, rejoicing in the privileges with which she is endowed; and sensible, at the same time, of the deep responsibilities with which such privileges must ever be accompanied." The ecclesiastical establishment of the country, meanwhile, appears to be working out its own destruction, which renders it the more necessary that something should be done to supply the vacuum which may thus be created. And yet, no class of persons in Scotland regret this act of suicide on the part of that establishment more than we Episcopalians; not that we can regret the downfall of that portion of heresy and schism

¹ Rev. John Alexander, minister of St Paul's church, Carruberg's close, Edinburgh.

which is inseparably blended with it, but because the injury which the dominant party are doing to the interests of religion at large, by setting at open defiance the sentences of the courts of justice, is tenfold greater than the benefit they are doing to us.¹ It would be easy to point out the true cause of this movement, and to show, that what Dr Burns of Paisley truly calls "the bold republicanism of presbytery," which acknowledges no subjection to a visible head, and of course a very in-

¹ An eminent statesman is reported to have said recently, in the House of Commons, that "the Presbyterian Church of Scotland had done more good, at less cost, than any church in Christendom." On this I would remark, first, that the utilitarian notion of the *cost* of a religious establishment, seems to me unworthy of a truly great and Christian mind. With as much propriety might it be said, "the aristocracy of Great Britain have done more good, at less cost, than any aristocracy in Europe." A reference to Appendix VI. of this work, will show the true state of the case, in regard to church property, which *was* more ancient, more strictly private, and better secured, than any property in the kingdom. But let that pass. I would ask next, what are we to understand by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which is at this moment divided into two nearly equal, and diametrically opposite bodies, each claiming to be exclusively the Church? If by the Church be meant, the party which assumes the name of "Non-intrusion," which, I contend, is the *most truly Presbyterian*, then I appeal to this work in proof that, at all times when it has had the ascendancy, it has done far more harm than good. But if what is called the "Moderate" party be meant, I am far from denying that it has done good. But I would ask, whether any dissenting religious denomination, enjoying the same advantages, would not have done equal good? I would ask, whether the good done has not arisen from the Christian truths taught by the establishment, rather than from its Presbyterianism? I would ask, whether "Moderate" Presbyterians are not better than their system, when followed out, would make them? I would ask, whether "the bold republicanism of presbytery," when pushed to its natural results, can ever generate much of that humility, reverence, and obedience, which are the leading virtues of our religion? I would ask, whether the moral habits of the Scottish people during the last century, (for I fear we must not speak of their morality *now*,) did not arise from causes antecedent to, and therefore unconnected with, their Presbyterianism? And lastly, I would ask, whether their parochial schools, which originated in times of Episcopacy, had not a large share in producing the beneficial effect in question? If these, and such like, suggestions be duly weighed, the statesman's assertion, quoted above, will require to be taken with very considerable limitations.

definite one to an invisible head, naturally leads, whenever it is carried out to its results, to the abolition of all human restraints, and, consequently, to that of patronage; and again, that the abolition of patronage must lead to the separation of Church and State. But I forbear entering upon this topic. The Episcopal Church, amidst all her difficulties, is still careful to preserve her apostolical succession uninterrupted, and her Catholic principles unimpaired. Scotland is divided into six dioceses; but as St Andrews is not one of them, its line of prelates must terminate here. The history of this city may be said to close at the Revolution, as from that era it began to sink into insignificance. The few events of general interest which have since occurred here, down to the present time, will be found recorded in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

History of St Andrews, from the Revolution of 1688 till the present Time.

1697. *Dispute between the University and the Town.* This was a law-plea between the rector and masters of the university on the one hand, and the Earl of Crawford as provost, and the magistrates of the burgh, on the other, conducted before the Court of Session, in regard to their respective privileges. The university contended that, on the ground of its college statutes and ancient custom, its members ought to be exempted from the payment of burgh taxes, and from the jurisdiction of burgh officers. The latter pleaded that no statutes could deprive them of rights which

had been previously conferred upon them by Malcolm IV. and David I., when these kings erected the town into a royal burgh. The case was remanded, and its final decision is not recorded.¹

1697. *Proposed removal of the University to Perth.*—This city, from the high rank it once held in Scotland, had been gradually falling into obscurity. The Reformation, however it might benefit the country at large, inflicted a blow upon St Andrews from which it never recovered. Of the subsequent changes, some retarded its progress to decay; but the greater part accelerated it, more especially the Grand Rebellion. The Restoration operated beneficially; but the Revolution, by abolishing the established Episcopacy, and thereby depriving the city of its primacy, and the university of its resident ecclesiastical chancellor, well-nigh finished the work of destruction. It only remained to remove the university itself to a more inviting situation, and the desolation would have been complete. The once proud ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland would soon have been no more than a fishing village.

The measure here alluded to was seriously contemplated in the above year. The plan was to remove the university to Perth, as a more central situation, and a more wealthy district. Much correspondence passed on the subject among the parties concerned, and several interviews took place between the professors of St Andrews and the magistrates of Perth, relative to the measure. The following is an extract from a letter from Sir Patrick Home to the Earl of Tullibardine, the new lay-chancellor of the university, dated Edinburgh 3d September 1697, assigning reasons for the contemplated removal:—"The reasons of conveniencie and advantage to the nation which seem to occur to us at

¹ Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 777.

present are—that St Andrews is a remote point of land lying at an outside; and all things for the convenience of living are dearer there than at other places; and upon these, and other considerations of that nature, the universitie is, of late years, exceedingly decayed; whereas the town of Perth is very near the centre of the kingdom, and all necessities for the convenience of living are as cheap there as in any place of the nation: and being in an in-country, people have far greater convenience of sending their children there to be bred, than to a remote place such as St Andrews is; as also, Perth, being near to the Highlands, where the gentlemen and others of the Highlands may have a greater convenience to send their children, it may tend much to the civilizing of the Highland country that this university be settled in that place. And besides, it is most convenient that universities, in any nation, should be settled at an equal distance from one another; and as Edinburgh is at an equal distance from Glasgow, so the universitie that is at St Andrews should be at an equal distance from Edinburgh: and certainly, one of the reasons why that universitie is so much decayed is, because it is too near Edinburgh; but being settled at Perth, it would be at an equal distance from Edinburgh; and Aberdeen would be at an equal distance from Perth.”

In the course of the same correspondence, we find the foregoing reasons more fully developed by one of the professors, who signs himself John Craigie; and which, as they disclose some curious particulars regarding the state of the town, and the character of the people at the period, I shall here subjoin. As a composition, it seems very carelessly written; and, making all due allowance for the style of the age, reflects no great credit on the professors which the new dynasty of William III. had introduced into the universities,

in place of the learned and loyal divines whom they had recently supplanted.

“As to the reason of a translation from this, there is, 1st, The interest of the nation, which will concur to the flourishing of the universitie; Perth being the centre of the kingdom, and of easy access, and this in a corner, not accessible *without crossing of seas*, except from the west, from whence few come.

“2d, It would contribute much to the civilizing of the Highlands, Perth being near them.

“3d, The victuals are dearer here than anywhere else, viz. fleshs, drinks of all sorts.

“4th, This place is ill provided of all commodities and trades, which obliges us to send to Edinburgh, and provide ourselves with shoes, clothes, hatts, &c.; and what are here are double rate.

“5th, This place is ill provided of fresh water, the most part being served with a *stripe*, [the mill-lead, I suppose,] where the foul clothes, herring, fish, &c., are washed, so that it is most pairt nasty and unwholesome.

“6th, This place is a most thin and piercing air, even to an excess, seeing that nitre grows upon the walls of the chambers where fires are used, if there be a light [a window] to the north; and this is the reason why old men coming to the place are instantly cut off.

“7th, As also, why infectious diseases have been observed to begin and rage here, as in the visitation in 1640, when Dr Bruce died; and last year a most *malignant flux*, whereof dyed upwards of two hundredth persons in a few weeks, which much prejudiced the universitie.

“8th, This place being now *only a village*, where most part farmers dwell, *the whole streets are filled with dunghills*, which are exceedingly noisome, and ready to infect the air, especially at this season, [September,] when the herring gutts are exposed in them, or rather in all corners of the town by themselves;

and the season of the year apt to breed infection, which partly may be said to have been the occasion of last year's dysentrie, and which, from its *beginning here, raged through most part of the kingdom.*"¹

The letter then goes on to state, that the inhabitants have "a great aversion to learning and learned men;" that none of them had ever been distinguished as a scholar in the university, and that "the rabble of the place" are much given to "tumultuate;" and, on one occasion, "had broken the new mylne belonging to the universitie, and threatened to burn the town;" and, on another occasion, (namely, in 1690,) had "chased the students into the colledges, and had brought their cannons to the very gates, to throw down the colledge; one of the tradesmen drawing a whinger to Dr Skene within the colledge, threatening to murder him; as also Jo. Smith's threatening to drag him to prison"—"the contrar of all these may be reasonably expected in Perth."²

It is evident from all this, that the professors were very anxious for a change. Why the measure failed is not stated; but it is easy to conceive that numerous obstacles would occur to its being carried into effect.

¹ Though St Andrews is now considered a very healthy spot, (see vol. i. p. 6,) it was not exempt from epidemics in former times. Besides the above two instances in 1640 and 1696, history furnishes us with incidental notices of others. Wyntoun states, that in 1362, the then Bishop of St Andrews spent his Christmas in Elgin, because of the "ded" which was raging in the south. Lindsay of Pitcottie informs us that the Governor of Scotland was obliged to raise the siege of the castle in 1547, which was occupied by the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, because of "the pest arising in the town." "In August 1685," says Moyse, in his Memoirs, "the plague broke out in St Andrews, and continued till upwards of *four thousand* people died, and the place was left almost desolate." And again, Archbishop Gladstones, in his capacity of chancellor of the university, had to dismiss the students in the year 1605, because the plague had made its appearance in the city. See under these years in vol. i.

² See Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth, vol. i. 1827.

1707. *Episcopacy persecuted*.—This began so early on the part of the General Assembly of the Kirk, and was carried so far, that “his majesty dissolved the Assembly which was held in 1692, and was with difficulty persuaded again to countenance its meeting.”¹ Under this year I find the following notice regarding St Andrews:—“A few more are connived at in [Episcopal] meeting-houses, as in Edinburgh, Kelso, Stirling, Dundee, Perth, Montrose, Aberdeen, Elgin; in all not twenty-five or twenty-six in these towns, and very few or none in country parishes where the people are not able to maintain ministers both in church and meeting-house; but still upon a precarious footing, or rather no footing at all, lying at simple discretion, which, upon proper occasion, expresseth itself by all possible severities; as last summer happened in the case of the lately-deceased Mr George Mathers, minister of the meeting-house in St Andrews, who, after he had qualified himself in all points, was immediately obliged to leave that town, having his meeting-house shut up; who, in two or three months afterwards, or thereabout, died at Edinburgh in great misery and want, not letting his case be known till it was too late.”²

Wodrow, in his “*Analecta*,” mentions that there were, at this time, several of the *outed* clergy at St Andrews; among others, Archdeacon Waddell, and “one Strachan, who had the English service.” This Waddell, as stated in the last chapter, had been senior minister of the town church, but was deprived at the Revolution, for non-conformity. He continued, notwithstanding, to officiate to the Episcopalians of St Andrews, without any legal endowment, for the remainder of his life; since which time there has always

¹ Dr Cook's *History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 452.

² “*Case of the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland truly Represented*.”

been a clergyman and congregation here in connexion with the ancient church.¹

1710. *Disaster*.—A young man, David Bruce, aged fifteen, son of a goldsmith in Edinburgh, with six other youths of the university, went out in a boat from St Andrews, to amuse themselves, at a time when the wind was westerly. They had only two oars, one of which they lost, and were, in consequence, driven into the German Ocean. For six days they were not seen or heard of; during which period it is easy to conceive both the anxiety of their friends, and their own hardships. At length, the wind having become easterly, they were driven in the direction of Aberdeen, and landed at a rock called Hernheugh, a few miles to the south of that city. They were hospitably received by the people near the spot; but the two youngest of their number had suffered so much from hunger and wet, that they died soon after, notwithstanding that they obtained medical assistance from Aberdeen. The rest recovered, and returned to St Andrews.²

1715–16. *Earl of Mar's Rebellion*.—It is well known that the adherents of the son of the unfortunate James II., in their attempt to restore the ancient dynasty, spread themselves over a great part of Scotland, in the winter of 1715–16. We have no account, that I am aware of, that they actually entered and took possession of St Andrews; but they certainly were in the neighbourhood, created great alarm among the inhabitants, and seem even to have acquired a considerable influence, both in the university and the

¹ Dr Waddell's successors have been, Mathers, Morrison, Lindsay, Robb, Baillie, Young, and the author of this work.

² In the university library is an engraving of the above-mentioned David Bruce, done at his father's expense, with a view of the boat landing at Hernheugh. Five of the youths are seen climbing up the rocks, while the other two are lying in the stern of the boat, unable to move without assistance.

magistracy of the city. But I will allow the extracts I am about to give to speak for themselves.

Extract from the minutes of the Town Council, of date the 3d September 1715. *Present*, the provost, and twenty-four members of Council. "This day the provost intimate to the council that a letter was written to this city by the Earl of Rothes, lord-lieutenant of this shyre, desyring that the hail fencible men of this city should put themselves in a posture of defence. The council, after mature deliberatione, have thought fitt to appoynt ane rendevouze of the hail fencible men within this city. And therefore, in compliance with the foresaid desyre, they appoynt a general rendevouze upon Tuesday next; and ordaine publick intimation to be made by tuck of drum, ordering and commanding all fencible men within the city to convene within the church yaird the foresaid day, at two of the clock in the afternoon, with their left arms; and from thence to march to the green bewest the swilken burne; certifying, that whoever refuse to appear, shall pay of fyne twenty pounds Scotts, and shall be adjudged disaffected to his majesty's government. (Signed) "A. WATSON, P."

I may be here permitted to mention some proceedings of the Highlanders at Crail, in this neighbourhood, with which I have been kindly supplied by the present minister of the parish. The following is a copy from an original letter, addressed to the Laird of Wormiston, as one of the principal heritors of that parish, by an insurgent who signs himself simply "Jo. Smyth;" but whether he were a civil or military functionary does not appear.

"To the Laird of Wormiston, and heritors of the parish of Crail.—SIR, I am directed by the Earl of Marr, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in

this kingdom, to transmit to one of the principal heritors of each parish, the enclosed order; and it is required that the order so transmitted be communicated to the several heritors and tenants within your parish, to the intent that punctual obedience may be given to the same, for which you have the enclosed warrant sent you, to be published and intimated accordingly; and, if payment of the money imposed is neglected or delayed after three days, a party of Highlandmen are to be employed to pound for payment. What loss that will occasion to your parish, you may easily conceive; and that it may be prevented is heartily wished by, Sir, your most humble servant, (Signed) "JO. SMYTH.

"Cupar, 13th October, 1715."

We may, I think, conclude, from the under-mentioned extracts from the Crail kirk-session records, that the money here demanded had not been forthcoming; on which account, the threat of sending a party of Highlandmen "to pound for payment" had been carried into effect:

"1715. *October 18.* There was no sermon Sabbath last, the Highland armie being here.

"*November 13.* There was no sermon, Sabbath nor week-day, the town being then bombarded, and the minister sought for to read the Earl of Marr his edict.

"*November 20.* No sermon on Sabbath, the Highlanders being in town.

"*November 27.* The minister forbidden to preach in the church, unless he read the Earl of Marr his edict, and pray for King James. A young man, Mr Nivens, by order of Baillie Crawford, preached in the church, after the old Episcopal fashion. Our minister preached in his own house.

"*December 6.* Collected Sunday and Tuesday, sermon being in the minister's house, 4lib. 11sh.

“December 11. No sermon ; being stopped by a body of Highlanders.

“December 18. Sermon in the minister’s house forenoon, but interrupted afternoon.

“December 25. No sermon ; being stopped by letters, one from Baillie Crawford to Baillie Robertson ; another threatening letter from Captain More to the minister.

“1716. January 31. No sermon on Sunday by our minister, the Highlandmen being here. One Mr Nivens, ane episcopall preacher, possessed the kirk that day, and had the English service. Our minister preached on Tuesday.”

Extracts from the University Records. “Rectorial Court, 22d February 1716. This day the town-clerk and procurator-fiscal of St Andrews, gave in a complaint to the rector against Arthur Ross, student of St Leonard’s college ; that whereas, by the laws of this kingdom, all persons guilty of attacking, in a hostile manner, any of his majesty’s lieges on the highways, or forcing from them any writs appointed by authority to be published, is a crime of a high nature, and to be punished as accords ; as also, by the statutes of the said university, all students bearing arms are punishable at the discretion of the rector, and to be extruded from the college to which they belong. Notwithstanding whereof, upon the 4th day of February, 1716, there being delivered to James Galloway, carrier in Anstruther, by James Walker, officer to the court of his majesty’s justices of peace within the Presbytery of St Andrews, certain papers or warrants direct from W. Horsburgh, sheriff-clerk, as having warrant from the Right Honourable the Earl of Rothes lord-lieutenant of Fife and Kinross, to be published in the several churches within the said presbytery, for advertizing the lieges as to the payment of the outstrike of the

foot militia, and for standards, drums, trumpets, &c., as specified in the said warrants,—the said Arthur Ross, being instigate by his own vile and corrupt nature, casting off all fear of God, and respect to the authority of our only rightful and lawful sovereign King George, did, upon the foresaid day, about one or two of the afternoon, furiously and maliciously pursue the said James Galloway, at or near the ford of St Nicholas' Burn, when going from St Andrews to Anstruther, and then and there, having overtaken the said James Galloway, he, the said Arthur Ross, with a pistol in his hand, forced from the said James Galloway one of the above-mentioned warrants, which he carried off with him in his hand; by which assault his majesty's and his lord-lieutenant's warrant was stopped and hindered to be published, to the great affront of his majesty's authority, and loss to his royal lieges, at a time when many of his unnatural subjects were in a most unreasonable and unaccountable rebellion; and for which crime the said Arthur Ross ought to be extruded disgracefully from the said college, and never suffered to return thereto, or be a student in the university, or else to allege a reasonable cause to the contrary."

The court met again on the 27th instant. Arthur Ross having pleaded nothing in his defence, he was sentenced to be whipt the following day by his regent, Mr Francis Pringle professor of Greek in St Leonard's college, to be extruded from that society, have his gown stripped off, deliver up the pistol to the rector, and pay to the clerk of the court £12 Scots, for expenses for carrying on the process against him.

"On the 1st March, the magistrates of St Andrews gave in a complaint of abuses committed during the time of the rebellion, by Thomas and Kenneth M'Kenzie; George Ramsay, son of Sir James Ramsay; George Martine, son to Claremont; James Arnot, son

to Balkathly; John M'Cleish; and Alexander Hay. Those of them that were in town, were ordered to appear before the meeting. They were found guilty of having forced the keys of the church and steeple of St Leonard's college from the wife of the porter, and of ringing the bells on the day the Pretender was proclaimed, after which they had gone out of town, and some of them had not yet returned."

Extracts from a royal visitation of the university by the Duke of Atholl, and fourteen other commissioners, in 1718. Queries put to the Principals and Masters:—

"Do you go along with your students to the church on the Sabbath days, and to the weekly sermons; or do any of them go to Episcopal meetings where his majesty King George I. is not prayed for?

"Have you any public prayers, morning and evening, in your college? and when you are employed in that duty, do you pray *nominatim* for his majesty King George I., the Prince and Princess of Wales, with the royal family, as the law requires?

"Do you think that any members of the university did countenance the rebellion, or wait on any of those who *usurped the office of magistracy in St Andrews?*"

At a subsequent part of the same visitation, the Principal of St Leonard's complains of the "disaffection of several students to the government both of church and state, too much encouraged or connived at by some of the masters." And accordingly, the commissioners command that all such as be found guilty in this respect, whether regents or students, be extruded from the university.

It appears from all this, that the Jacobites had got some sort of footing in the town and university, or, at least, that they had friends in both; and that, in consequence, there was an interruption, for a time, to the

ordinary proceedings of the magistrates and the professors.

1718. *Renewed Persecution.* In consequence of the late rebellion, and the part which many Episcopalianians had taken in it, the laws *against their religion* were enforced with renewed severity. This drove from the establishment the few who had hitherto remained in it, and exposed them all to increased persecution. They were not even allowed to marry, or baptize, or bury openly, the members of their own communion.

1727. 19th January. *Burning of Professor James Haldane, and part of St Mary's College.*

"The Principal of the new college (Hadow) having represented to the meeting, the great damage the fabric of the said college has sustained by the dreadful fire that happened on Tuesday morning last, and craved the advice and assistance of the rector and masters of the university, as to the ways and means that they might think proper for procuring some supply to help to defray the charges in rebuilding that part which is consumed," &c. They then appoint a committee to inquire into and report concerning the same.

20th January. "Concerning Principal Hadow's representation to the university of the damage sustained by the New College by the late burning, the committee proposes that the university may give their assistance for procuring to the said college, for a help to rebuild that part which is consumed by the late dreadful fire, a year's salary of the profession of ecclesiastical history, as possessed by Mr James Haldane, late professor thereof, who unfortunately perished in the said burning," &c. They then agree to write to the Duke of Chandos, the chancellor, to obtain his concurrence to the above proposal.¹

¹ Records of the University, *sub anno*.

1742. Mr Alexander Wilson, a native of this place, opened a type-foundry here; but after two years, removed his establishment to Glasgow.

1745-6. *Rebellion—Persecution—Troops in St Andrews—Duke of Cumberland.*

It does not appear that St Andrews had any concern in the rebellion of this era; but owing to the part which the Scottish Episcopalians generally took in it, (though many Roman Catholics and even some Presbyterians were concerned,) the most severe laws were enacted, not only against their *persons*, which might have been expected, but, which was most iniquitous, against their *religion*. Their places of public worship were ordered to be shut up or destroyed; their clergy were subjected to a severe penalty, if found officiating to more than four persons in a private house; the laity who attended their ministrations, were rendered incapable of holding any civil or military office; and they who knew of these things being done, without giving information of them, were also subjected to punishment. Finally, no Episcopal clergyman was allowed to officiate publicly, or to hold any preferment in Great Britain, except he had received orders from an English or Irish bishop. The chapel in St Andrews was at that time the room of a house in South Street; but as they could not destroy the room without injuring the house, they carried out the chapel furniture into the street, and burnt it. I have it from a respectable old woman still living in the town, that in her youth she had often seen a paralytic old man named Robert Adamson, of the College Wynd, who was said to have burnt the communion-table of the above chapel, and who, soon after, was seized with paralysis in both his hands; which was believed by many to be a judgment upon him for his sacrilege. This man also went to Carlisle

after the rebellion, to tender his oath that a Mr Lindsay, a wine-merchant in St Andrews, had been out with Prince Charles; in consequence of which he was executed. Adamson went ever after by the nickname of "Carlisle," and was disliked as an informer, even by the Presbyterians. But with respect to the persecutions, it was surely an extraordinary way of inflicting punishment upon Jacobites, to try to exterminate their *religion*! It was something new in the annals of history, that loyalty was to be strengthened by the suppression of Episcopacy. A true Episcopalian is a loyalist upon principle: and hence it was nothing but the excess of loyalty which produced Jacobitism. Besides, why should the same religion be persecuted in Scotland, and established in England? Yet the persecutions so far answered the purpose intended: for whereas there were upwards of four hundred Episcopal congregations in Scotland before the rebellion, it was found that, out of that number, no more than thirty remained, after the lapse of a few years, when the storm had in some degree abated! The penal statutes were in part repealed in 1792, and still farther in 1841; but even yet, the clergy of Scottish ordination, though permitted to officiate, are not permitted to hold preferment, in the Church of England.

I observe from the baptismal register of the Episcopal chapel here, that for many years both before and after the 1745, and indeed for nearly the whole of the last century, there were a considerable number of military constantly stationed in this city. The baptism of the children of soldiers very frequently occurs. Regiments at that time were not distinguished, as now, by their numbers, but by the names of their commanders. Accordingly, I find that Lord Mark Kerr's, Middlethorp's, Whittam's, Kerry's, Lord

Sutherland's, Skelton's, &c., were among the regiments, the whole, or a part of which were billeted upon the inhabitants of St Andrews. But these billetings were far from being agreeable to the members of the university, who often petitioned government against the practice, both as an infringement on their rights, and as furnishing grounds of quarrel between the students and the military.

When the Duke of Cumberland returned victorious from Culloden, the university sent a deputation to congratulate him on his success, and to request that he would do them the honour to become their chancellor, to which request his royal highness graciously consented. He was installed chancellor accordingly.¹

1747. *Union of the Colleges.* The colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard, were united this year.— See chap. x.

1770. *Mr Pennant.* I have already quoted from this tourist's account of St Andrews, vol. i. p. 3.

1773. *Dr S. Johnson and Mr Boswell's Visit to St Andrews.*

A description of the city and university may be seen in their well-known and interesting writings. Their accounts contain a few inaccuracies, but not more than might have been expected in so short a visit. I would gladly have transcribed the whole, but was deterred through fear of unnecessarily increasing the bulk of this work.

1773. *Medical Degrees.* One Donaldson, the editor of the *Caledonian Mercury*, asserted in his paper, that the St Andrews professors were in the practice of granting degrees to gentlemen without any knowledge of, or inquiry into, their qualifications, merely on their paying the customary fees. This charge the university

¹ Records of the University, *sub anno*.

took up, and determined on prosecuting the editor for defamation: but on consulting their law advisers in Edinburgh, they ultimately came to the resolution "to proceed no farther in that matter."¹

1799. *Visit to St Andrews of Monsieur B. F. St Fond, Member of the National Institute, and Professor of Geology, etc.*

This author published an account of his tour through Scotland; and I notice it, in order to show how little dependence can be put on the assertions even of a learned traveller, who spends only a few days at a place, and picks up his information carelessly, or from hearsay. I shall notice only his more ridiculous mistakes.

1. Bishop Kennedy's monument, he says, "exhibits *nothing remarkable*. On an occasion of making some repairs, there was discovered within it a church mace of *gilt copper*, four feet long. This ensign of dignity, which I was permitted to examine, is charged with gothic ornaments, finely executed, but *in bad taste*. This work, to judge by its style, may be 260 or 300 years old. Gothic medallions are suspended all round it by way of ornament." The exquisitely beautiful, though mutilated mace here referred to, is of solid silver; and what our traveller calls "gothic medallions," are three labels, one of which would have told him, if he could have read it, that the mace was made in 1461; and (what would probably have turned his censure into admiration) at his own city of Paris.²

2. He mistakes Sharp's monument in the parish church, and the representation of his murder upon it, for that of Cardinal Beaton; and the daughter

¹ The university of that period, and for many years after, was in the practice of drawing £300 per ann. on an average for medical degrees, two-thirds of which sum were expended on the library. Dr Johnson said they would grow rich *by degrees*.

² See a description of this mace in Chap. XI.

of the former, who appears in the picture, for the daughter of the latter, who, he proceeds to tell his readers, was afterwards married to the Master of Crawford. He next expresses his astonishment that such a monument should be allowed to remain in a Protestant church; but he discovers the reason, which is this:—a sum of money had been left for the express purpose of keeping this monument in repair. The Presbyterians continue to draw this sum; but they apply it to the use of their church; and they suffer the tomb to remain, because, were they to destroy it, they would cease to receive the money—"an evident proof," observes the professor, "that everywhere gold has the power of reconciling the most opposite opinions."—See page 96.

3. "The quadrangular tower is, at present, a memorial only of the feudal rights which the king has over the city; and, on this account, is preserved with great care." This is nonsense.

4. The freestone precipice between the castle and the Witch-hill "is, at least, one hundred feet high." It is about sixty. It contains a narrow seam of coal, which he is surprised is not worked; but the reason is plain—it would not pay. The sea, he says, has encroached so much "as to destroy almost the whole of the site of the ancient archiepiscopal castle," and to sweep away a road which led from it to the Witch-hill. This is the illusion of our traveller's own fancy, or the result of incorrect information. "By an attentive examination," adds this profound geologist, "I discovered the cause of this great degradation." The city, cathedral, and churches were, he supposes, all built out of this freestone precipice! The debris formed thus, as well as by the action of the waves and the weather, is reduced to a fine sand, which the sea throws up on the neighbouring links. "Thus the waves, which

tear asunder the freestone, and carry it off the coast in huge solid pieces, throw it back on a neighbouring part in the form of sand." But this is not all; for "the newly-formed tract of sand, which occupies a space of four miles long, [the utmost length is two,] and half a mile broad, may, in the course of time, and with the aid of *certain circumstances*, be a second time formed into freestone."

1800. January. *John Honey*.—"The sloop Janet, of Macduff, was driven on the sands near St Andrews. Every attempt to save the vessel by the townsmen proving ineffectual, she went to pieces. The crew, worn out by fatigue, were unable to struggle with the waves any longer; and several fruitless attempts to save the helpless sufferers only heightened their despair. John Honey, a student in the university, fearless of all danger, plunged amid the fury of the waves, seized the benumbed seamen one by one, and laid them in safety on the beach. The reward tendered to this humane and intrepid youth, was more honourable than lucrative: soon after this event, the magistrates invited him to an elegant entertainment, and presented him with the freedom of the city, accompanied by an address suited to the occasion."

1811. *Duke of Cambridge*.—On the death of the late Lord Melville, the university chose the Duke of Cambridge for their chancellor, who accepted the office. But in 1813, when he was nominated to go as Viceroy to Hanover, they wrote to him that "as it was essential to their interests to have a chancellor resident in the united kingdom, to whom they may at all times have access, and through whom they may have opportunities of making such communications to his majesty's government, and to both houses of parliament, as may, from time to time, be necessary for the conservation of their privileges,"—they therefore

solicited his acquiescence in the appointment of another chancellor in his room. They meant this as a hint to him to resign; but the duke, thinking they wanted only an *interim* chancellor, agreed at once to this proposal. They therefore wrote a second time to explain themselves more clearly, by telling him that, for the reasons before stated, they had elected the present Lord Melville as their permanent chancellor. This is said to have given great annoyance to the duke.

1825. *Choice of a Rector.*—The students chose Sir Walter Scott for their rector, though the statutes of the university limited their choice to certain members of their own body. Sir Walter, being made aware of this irregularity, wrote to the students to thank them for their intended honour, but respectfully declining it. He also wrote to the professors, regretting that the students should have deviated from the rules of the university, but hoping their conduct in this instance might be excused, in consideration of their youth and inexperience.

1827. June. *Sir Walter Scott.*—"Another morning was given to St Andrews, which one of the party had never before visited."—"The ruins," says Sir Walter, "have been totally cleared out. They have been magnificent for their size, not for their richness in ornament. I did not go up to St Rule's tower, as on former occasions. This is a falling off; for when before did I remain sitting below, when there was a steeple to be ascended? But the rheumatism has begun to change that vein for some time past, though I think this is the first decided sign of acquiescence in my lot. I sat down on a grave-stone, and recollected the first visit I made to St Andrews, now thirty-four years ago. What changes in my feelings and my fortunes have since then taken place! I remembered the name I carved in runic characters on the turf be-

side the castle gate, and asked why it should still agitate my heart? But my friends came down from the tower, and the foolish idea was chased away."¹

1829. *Stage-Coach*.—The first stage-coach commenced running. It went to Cupar twice a-week.

1832. *Cholera*.—In the summer, this epidemic made its appearance here. Fourteen persons were attacked, of whom eight died; all, except one, having been of dissipated habits.

1835. *Gas*.—A gas-work was established.

1835. *Imposture*.—A candidate for a degree in medicine prevailed on a medical friend to present himself to the university, for examination, in order that, if successful, the degree might be transferred to the former. The examination proving satisfactory, the degree was on the point of being made out in the name of the false candidate, when the fraud was accidentally discovered. The facts were made public in the newspapers, and both gentlemen declared incapable of ever receiving any degree from St Andrews.

1836. *Rev. Dr Dibden*.—After a few days' residence here, this gentleman gave a somewhat ludicrous account of the city, its society, and antiquities, in a work entitled, "A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England, and in Scotland." As he is still living, I shall only say, that, as far as St Andrews is concerned, his information is inaccurate. The engravings are expen-

¹ Life by Lockhart, vol. ix. p. 125. The party, which consisted of Sir A. Ferguson, Mr Thomas Thomson, &c., had come from Charle-ton, and returned there to dinner the same day. This was on a Saturday previous to the administration of the Lord's Supper, and Dr Chalmers was to be the afternoon preacher. Sir Walter, who was apprized of this, said he would have remained to hear him, but for his engagement at Charle-ton. It was remarked that the doctor's sermon contained an allusion to the "Great Unknown." The lady alluded to in the above extract, is said to have been Miss Stewart Belshes, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Fettercairn.

sively and handsomely executed; but, through some unaccountable carelessness, are often misnamed. By the author's order, the copper plates were destroyed when the impressions were thrown off.

CHAPTER VI.

The Archbishopal Rank and Property; other Church Property in St Andrews.

THE Archbishops of St Andrews, independent of their being Primates of all Scotland, and exercising an immediate ecclesiastical jurisdiction over eight dioceses, were "lords of regality" over three extensive districts. The first of these was Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, of which the Marquis of Huntly was hereditary bailie, and who paid to the see an annual feuduty of £300 Scots. The second was Kirkliston, in Linlithgowshire, which extended over the whole of the diocese south of the river Forth. Of this the Earls of Winton, and latterly the Lairds of Hopetoun, were hereditary bailies. The third was St Andrews, which included the counties of Fife, Perth, Forfar, and Kincardine; and of which the Learmonth's of Dairsey, and latterly the Earls of Crawford,¹ were hereditary bailies. But it is to be observed, that these regalities comprehended only certain parishes, superiorities, and feu-farms, which lay within the above counties, from which the archbishop drew a revenue, and over which he exercised a temporal jurisdiction: his bailies re-

¹ This earl, in the year 1646, in virtue of his office, caused a woman of St Andrews to be tried and executed for the murder of her child.—*Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 240.

presenting him in his absence. And it is a curious circumstance, that this office of hereditary bailie long survived the destruction of an established Episcopacy, and was not finally abolished till the passing of what was called "The Heritable Jurisdiction Act" in 1748.

Such was the civil division of the archbishop's jurisdiction; but, in regard to the spiritual division of his diocese, it consisted, before the disjunction of the see of Edinburgh, of two archdeaconries; viz., those of St Andrews and Lothian; of nine rural deaneries, presided over by their respective officials; and two hundred and forty-five parishes. These two archdeacons were the second and third diocesan dignitaries, and, in witnessing charters, signed each first within the limits of his own province. The archdeacon of Lothian had under his immediate charge the whole of that part of the diocese which lay between the river Forth and the English border. In provincial councils, he took his seat next to abbots and priors of monasteries. A charter which we have of one of them, begins with these words: "*Abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, æt cæteris officialibus, personis, vicariis, et universo clero de Laodonia.*" Mr T. Thomson mentions, (in his Appendix to "the General Report from the Commissioners of Public Records,") that he had discovered two volumes of consistorial proceedings in the courts of the officials of St Andrews and Lothian, prior to the Reformation; "a class of records," he adds, "of which it was not before known that any part had been preserved, and by means of which some important lights cannot fail to be thrown on the state of law at that period, particularly in regard to the constitution and dissolution of marriage."¹

In the Appendix, I have given a copy of the pre-

¹ P. 540. These volumes ought to be printed for one of the antiquarian clubs.

sentation-charter of the see to Archbishop Sharp ; from which, and other documents, it appears, (says Martine his secretary,) that "one marquis, fifteen earls, three viscounts, five barons, and many persons of inferior rank, held lands of the primate ; nor was there any subject in Scotland who had the superiority of more land than himself." This dignitary, moreover, ranked next the royal family in Scotland,¹ and consequently not only above all the spiritual, but all the temporal peers of the realm. His titles were, Lord of the Lordship and Priory of St Andrews ; Lord Keig and Monymusk ; Lord Kirkliston, Dairsey, Monimeal, Scots-craig, Tynningham, &c. He had palaces at Stow, Linlithgow, Kinghorn, and Inchmurtach ; and houses of an inferior description at Torrie, Dairsey, Monimeal, Muckart, Kettins, Linton, and Monymusk. Within his own above-mentioned regalities, the archbishop was supreme judge in almost all civil and criminal cases ; and, in his own consistorial court of St Andrews, he had exclusive jurisdiction in whatever related to wills, marriage, divorce, alimony, adultery, scandal, perjury, &c.² He had the right, within his bounds, to appropriate all escheats of goods and forfeited property ; to coin money, and levy custom-house duties. In two charters of Robert III., dated 1405, the king gives to Bishop Wardlaw, and his successors for ever, ("for the reverence he entertained for Almighty God, the blessed Virgin, St Andrew the apostle, and all the saints,") the *magna custuma* of wool, hides, skins, flesh, fish, and other goods within

¹ Archiepiscopo primate, et secundum regem primo, carendum non esse republica vociferat.—*Epistolæ Regum Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 201. The ecclesiastical order was the first of the three estates of the realm, and the archbishop was the first of that order.

² This court continued long after the abolition of an established Episcopacy ; and, only a few years ago, merged partly into the Sheriff's Court, and partly into the Court of Session,

the city and territory of St Andrews; and also the whole of the cocket-duty, part of which had before been received by the king.¹ This last source of revenue was withdrawn, after the rebellion broke out in 1639, and never again restored. Finally, the archbishop was perpetual moderator and president of all national synods, chancellor of the university, and patron of one hundred and thirty-one benefices; and before the Reformation, no abbot or prior within the limits of his extensive diocese could be appointed, without his express sanction and confirmation.

There is a curious document preserved in the book commonly called the "blak buik of Sanct Androis," which throws some farther light on the civil jurisdiction of the bishop. It is dated in the year 1309, at which time a dispute arose between Bishop Lamberton and the Culdees. The dispute was terminated by the following decision of Randolph earl of Moray, "*gardianum citra Mare Scoticum*,"² to whose judgment it had been referred:

"It is found and solemnly announced, that within the 'Cursus Apri' are these baronies; viz., the barony of the lord bishop; that of the lord prior; and that of the Culdees; which baronies, with their inhabitants, are subject immediately to the Bishop of St Andrews, and to no other; by reason of which subjection, the said baronies are, both by right and custom, held to constitute a part of the lord bishop's court, and to be concerned as well in the production of evidence as in the sentences pronounced. It is also found, that if any judgment in the court of the Culdees, or any other court within the 'Cursus Apri,' be challenged by any

¹ Register of the Priory, p. 414-416. Those revenues were usually farmed out by the archbishop; of which Martine, in his "*Reliquie*," gives some examples.

² *Mare Scoticum*, means the river Forth.

one, he may appeal to the lord bishop's court, by whose decision the matter is to be finally determined. It is also found, that if any one belonging to the aforesaid baronies be seized within the 'Cursus Apri,' either by the king's or any other bailiff, he shall be liberated, and be taken up only by the justiciary of the lord bishop, or his servants, in the regality of St Andrews, and not by any bailiff of the said baronies. Lastly, it is found and declared, that the lord bishop shall have power to interfere in all cases relating to our lord the king, within the 'Cursus Apri;' and that he may grant life or limb even to those condemned by the royal authority, within the said boundary." These ample concessions to the Bishop of St Andrews, arose in part, no doubt, from the very good understanding which at that time existed between Robert Bruce and Bishop Lamberton.¹

In respect to the archbishop's jurisdiction within the walls of the city, the provost and bailies could not act without his permission. Every burgess, on being admitted to his rights, was obliged to swear allegiance to him, as well as to the king; and to pay him a small sum annually, under the name of homage-money. On the other hand, the archbishop took an oath, that "he would maintain and defend the provost, bailies, and council, and the whole inhabitants of the city, the town, lands, liberties, and estate, by law, at court, council, session, and justice, in all their honest actions and causes."

Martine, in enumerating the household offices of the primate, says that the two following were hereditary:—the *marshal*, who was always the representative of the Makgills of Kemback; and the *constable*, who was

¹ See Lamberton's *Episcopate*, vol. i. p. 145. The above document is translated from a copy which is given in the *Register of the Priory*, p. xxxi.

of the family of Wemyss of Lathoker. Besides these, there were the chaplain, the usher, the major-domo, the butler, and the secretary. Even as early as the twelfth century, we find the charters of Bishops Arnold and Richard witnessed by their seneschal, dapiferus, cancellarius, pincerna, camerarius, marescallus, and hostiarius, besides one or two of their domestic capellani or clerici.¹ This may give one some idea of the rank enjoyed by ecclesiastics in that *dark* age. Princes and nobles then united to raise the ecclesiastical status ; now, the endeavour seems to be to depress it.

As to the revenues of the see, it is not easy to determine them with accuracy, as they arose from various sources, and differed considerably at different times. I have already shown² that in the thirteenth century they amounted to about £40,000 of our money. In the fifteenth century, especially in the time of Bishop Kennedy, they appear to have risen above this sum. On the other hand, several of the bishops, as we have seen, alienated part of their revenues for various religious purposes ; as, first, for endowing, in part, the priory, to which Bishops Robert, Arnold, and Richard, especially contributed ; secondly, for founding, and in part endowing, the monastery of Scotland-well, which was the work of Bishop Malvoisine ; thirdly, for building the Dominican monastery in St Andrews, which was done by Bishop Wishart ; fourthly, for erecting the Franciscan monastery, also in St Andrews, by Bishop Kennedy and his successor Archbishop Graham ; fifthly, for constructing the college of St Salvator, and endowing it with the tithes of the parishes of Cultra, Denino, Kemback, and Kilmany, also the work of Kennedy ; sixthly, for endowing, in part, the college of St Leonard, by Archbishop A. Stewart ; seventhly,

¹ Register of the Priory, p. 120-141,

² Vol. i. pp. 97, 125,

for endowing the college of St Mary with the tithes of Tynningham, Tannadice, Craig, Logie-pert, Lawrencekirk, and Tweedsmuir, by the two Archbishops Beaton and their successor Hamilton; and lastly, for securing the interest of the Earl of Argyll in favour of Archbishop Shevez, (in regard to his dispute with the Archbishop of Glasgow,) by a perpetual lease of the archiepiscopal estate of Muckartshire, which was almost equivalent to a grant, to that nobleman.

In the year 1561, by an order of the privy council, all the prelates of Scotland gave in a return of their revenues, in order that one-third might be deducted from them. Archbishop Hamilton gave in his at about £3000 Scots in money, and 139 chalders of grain, which would amount to nearly as much more. This, though more than the same sum in sterling money now, was, in all probability, below what it even then was, considering that it was the primate's interest to give in as diminished a return as possible.

Let us here recapitulate the history of this property. After the murder of Hamilton, the Earl of Morton obtained a grant of it, and put into the see a tulchan bishop, through whom he might more conveniently draw the yearly income. On the passing of the "Annexation" act in 1587, it fell to the crown, which immediately conferred it on the favourite Duke of Lennox. It is probable that one or other of these noblemen destroyed the Register of the diocese, through fear of being called upon, at some future time, to disgorge what they had no right in conscience to call their own. In 1606, on the re-establishment of Episcopacy, James VI. recovered the property from the Duke of Lennox, and restored it to the see. During the great rebellion, the university of St Andrews obtained a grant of it, subject to some deductions. At the Restoration, it was once

more applied to its legitimate destination,—the Principals of the university receiving certain annual pensions out of it till an equivalent was provided from other sources. Finally, at the Revolution, in common with all other diocesan property in Scotland, the revenue lapsed to the crown, which still, sacrilegiously I think, retains possession of it. Of late, some parts of this property have been sold for the avowed purpose of defraying the expense of fitting up Buckingham Palace as a suitable residence for her majesty! No loyal subject would grudge the queen a sufficient number of suitable palaces; but she must have been very ill advised to build or furnish any of them by the sale of what was bequeathed for far other objects. Thus have the revenues of the ancient primacy of Scotland, founded by kings and prelates for the most holy of purposes, and amply endowed by a succession of noble and pious individuals, passed through a variety of secular hands since the Reformation, and been applied to various private purposes. It affords little encouragement to bequeath property for any definite object whatever, when we know not how soon posterity may see good to direct it to a purpose totally opposite to the intention of the donor.

Since the Revolution, the crown has not only drawn the revenues, but exercised the civil rights, and dispensed the ecclesiastical patronage, which previously belonged to the archbishopric; and the same remark is equally true of the other Scottish dioceses. The livings at present in the gift of the crown are those which were formerly in the gift of the bishops. And it is remarkable, that *lay* patronage is now complained of as an intolerable grievance by the very persons who justify the conduct of those who, by overturning Episcopacy, contributed to increase it! They have fallen themselves into the pit which they dug for others.

With regard to the Augustinian priory, its last prior, Lord James Stewart, gave in its rental in the year 1561, at about £2200 Scots in money, and nearly £8000, (or 440 chalders,) in grain. When the said prior became afterwards regent, having almost uncontrolled power, and being desirous to secure to his family as much as possible of the priory property, he sold a great part of the lands, or granted advantageous leases of them ; but reserved to himself, and the commendators his successors, the superiority of them, together with a right to their tithes. After his death, the Regent earl of Lennox gave these tithes and superiorities to his own brother, Robert Stewart bishop-elect of Caithness, who held them for the remainder of his life, subject to certain pensions which he engaged to pay out of them. This prelate died in 1586. The year following, the priory, by the act of "Annexation," fell to the crown, which seems to have kept possession of it till 1606. In that year, Episcopacy having been reëstablished, the revenue of the archbishopric was taken from the Duke of Lennox, and that of the priory given to him instead, which was erected into a temporal lordship in his favour. From his successor it was purchased by Charles I. in 1635, and annexed to the archbishopric of St Andrews, in compensation for the loss which the latter sustained by the erection of Edinburgh into a new see. At the Revolution, it passed, in common with all diocesan property, to the crown : and it is deserving of remark, that the crown's lessee continues, to this day, to draw a great part of the above-mentioned tithes in *kind*, which, I believe, is the only instance in Scotland, where this ancient practice is kept up. For a list of the priors of this monastery, see the preliminary observations to its Register.¹

¹ Appendix VI,

The ground on which the Dominican monastery stood, in the South Street, became the property of Lord Seaton after the Reformation, having been made over to him by John Grierson, provincial of the order in Scotland. From him, it passed into the hands of Alexander Spence of Lathallan. The magistrates and town council, in 1604, bought the ground from Spence for 650 marks. They again sold it to John Knox, the provost of the city, for 1000 marks. It subsequently became the property of Dr John Young dean of Winchester, who made a grant of it to the town, for the purpose of erecting a grammar-school upon it.¹ Lastly, Dr Bell procured it from the town; and upon it, together with some additional ground which he purchased, erected the Madras school, of which I shall have to explain the nature and object in a future chapter. The rest of the property within the town belonging to the monastery, which did not amount to much, was transferred by Queen Mary, in 1567, to the provost and magistrates.

The property of the Franciscan monastery in Market Street, which was not great, (the monks being a mendicant order, like the Dominicans,) was made over by Queen Mary to the town, which still draws the revenue in the form of small feu-duties on houses and tenements within the limits of the royalty. We have scarcely any account of the names either of the wardens of the Franciscan, or the priors of the Dominican monastery.

The provostry of Kirkheugh drew its revenue (which, in 1561, amounted to £176 in money, and fourteen chalders of grain) from certain feus and small annual-rents in Fetteresso, Dysart, Strabrook, Arbuthnot, Benholme, Dura, Remgellie, and Ceres.

¹ See MS. Book of Charters, pp. 14, 16, 17.

It is always spoken of as a royal chapel, “capella domini regis Scotorum ;” though when it became so, I have not been able to ascertain, unless it originated in the circumstance of King Constantine III. having retired to it in the year 943. At any rate, it is thus designated in 1432.¹ The only names and dates of its provosts, which I have succeeded in collecting, are these :—

Adam Malcarwiston, in	A.D. 1250
William Cumyn, from 1296 till	1328
Duncan Little, in	1384
Robert Lang, in	1432
Hugh Kennedy, in	1459
James Allardes, in	1484
James Lermonth, in	1560

On the erection of the chapel-royal at Stirling by James IV., in 1501, he appointed the provost of Kirkcough to be its dean *ex officio* ; but in a few years after, he altered this ordinance in favour of the Bishop of Galloway.

I have not learnt what became of the property of this monastery at the Reformation. Perhaps the provost and prebendaries were permitted, during the remainder of their lives, to draw two-thirds of their incomes, which was the allowance usually granted to the beneficed clergy of the papal church. But in 1580, we find the provostry in the possession of Thomas Buchanan, master of the grammar-school at Stirling, and nephew of the celebrated George Buchanan, who probably procured it for him. The only condition on which he received this benefice was, his performance of the parochial duties of Ceres, one of its dependencies. In 1587, it passed, in common with most other church property, into the hands of the crown, with which it seems to have remained till the

¹ Appendix I. 9.

restoration of Episcopacy in 1606, when it was granted to the archbishopric, in compensation for various losses and reductions which the latter had sustained. But in 1621, Archbishop Spotswood generously gave up this revenue, and settled it on the two ministers of the parish church, whose Presbyterian successors now enjoy it.

The archdeaconry of St Andrews,¹ which was valued, in 1561, at £600 per annum, drew its income from Kincaple, Nydie, Rescobie, Kinneff, Bervie, and the superiorities of Stratyrum and Wilkinston. Robert Pitcairn, who was the incumbent at the Reformation, and assisted in promoting it, probably retained his benefice for the remainder of his life. In 1587, King James VI. granted it to Dr George Young, one of his domestic chaplains, whom we have already mentioned. In 1606, it was incorporated with the archbishopric, with a view to augment its revenues, already greatly dilapidated. But the then archbishop, (Gladstones,) wishing to confer the archdeaconry on his own son, Dr Gladstones, who happened at that time to be senior minister of the parish church, he disjoined it from the see, and settled the income in perpetuity on the said minister; so that, from this time, the senior minister of the parish church and the archdeacon were one and the same person.

The following is a list of the archdeacons from the beginning, as accurately as I have been able to make it from various authorities :—

1. Monamus, killed by the Danes in the Isle of May,	
about the year	870
2. Veremundae, a Spaniard, about	1080
3. Mathew and Thor, joint archdeacons, in	1147
4. Mathew alone, till about	1170

¹ The temporalities of the archdeaconry of Lothian, after the death of the last incumbent, Alexander Beaton, in 1584, were granted by James VI. to the college of Edinburgh.

5. Walter, till about	1176
6. John Scott, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, till about	1180
7. Randolph, till about	1192
8. Hugh de Roxburgh, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, till	1199
9. John Scott again, in	1200
10. William de Malvoisine, afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, till	1202
11. William de Bosco, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, till	1211
12. Lawrence, till about	1240
13. Adam, till about	1245
14. Gameline, afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, till	1250
15. Abel, ditto, till	1253
16. William Wishart, ditto, till	1270
17. Robert, in	1323
18. James de Bane, afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, till	1328
19. John? till	1350
20. John de Peblys, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, in	1377
21. Thomas Stewart, afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, till about	1406
22. Fowlis, till	1441
23. John Legat, in	1444
24. Hugh Douglas, till	1459
25. William Shevez, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews, till	1478
26. Alexander Inglis, till	1495
27. Robert de Fontibus, till	1503
28. Gavin Dunbar, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen, till	1518
29. John Cantilly, till	1528
30. Alexander Inglis, till	1531
31. George Dury, ¹ probably till	1542

¹ The following extract of a letter from James V. (Epist. Regum, ii. 23) to the Cardinal de Ghymnicia, at Rome, in reference to Dury, may here be given :—"The Archdeacon of St Andrews is the first metropolitan dignity in our kingdom which is in our gift, and has always been bestowed on one admitted to our privy council. This benefice, the present archdeacon, George Dury, (commendator of the rich monastery of Dunfermline, and holding other benefices besides,) is, we hear, seeking to transfer to a boy, with the concurrence of the archbishop, (Cardinal Beaton,) but not with ours. For the reverence which we entertain for the archbishop, we are unwilling that any disagreement should arise between us; and we therefore wish you to interfere to hinder the above transfer.—From Falkland, 11th December, 1539." Both Dury, and his successor Pitcairn, who, I suspect, is the boy alluded to by James, are buried in the nave of the abbey church of Dunfermline. Probably, James hindered the misapplication during his life; but I imagine it happened immediately after his death in 1542. The

32. Robert Pitcairn, probably till	1584
33. George Young, till	1606
34. George Gladstones archbishop of St Andrews, till	1612
35. Alexander Gladstones, senior minister of the pa- rish church, till	1639

For the remainder, see the list of ministers of the parish church, down to the present day, in the Appendix.¹

The vicarage of St Andrews, in other words, the vicarial tithes of the parish, (for the rectorial belonged to the priory,) were, in 1606, in common with the provostry of Kirkheugh and the archdeaconry, annexed to the archbishopric. The vicarage, therefore, shared the same fate with the see itself. But in 1645, the parish of St Andrews being considered too large, it was found expedient to take off the parish of Cameron from it, and to allot the vicarial tithes of the whole for the maintenance of its minister. Those tithes, on being valued, were found to amount to a larger sum than it was usual for a Presbyterian minister to receive; whereupon a moderate income was settled upon him, and the rest allowed to remain in the hands of the heritors, under the name of "unexhausted tiends;" out of which, augmentations to the incumbent are liable to be made, when deemed necessary.

transaction forms one of the many proofs of ecclesiastical abuses in Scotland at this time,—the great power of churchmen compared with that of the king,—and the influence of Rome in controlling both.

¹ Appendix LVII.

CHAPTER VII.

The Cathedral.

FOR some account of the origin, progress, and destruction of this once splendid church, see vol. i. pp. 76, 336. Enough, however, of its foundation, pillars, and walls remain, to enable us to determine its dimensions with great precision. It consisted of a nave two hundred feet long, and sixty-two wide, including the two lateral aisles; a transept, with an eastern aisle, one hundred and sixty feet long; a choir, with two lateral aisles, ninety-eight feet long; and, at the eastern extremity, a Lady chapel thirty-three feet in length. The extreme length of the whole structure, measured inside the walls, is three hundred and fifty-eight feet. All that remains of the edifice, is the east gable, part of the west front, the wall on the south side of the nave, and that of the west side of the south transept. In this last may still be seen the remains of some interlaced arches, and the ruins of the steps by which the canons descended from the dormitory to the church to perform their midnight services.

The standing walls contain thirteen windows, of which the six nearest the west have pointed arches, with single mullions, and the remaining seven, semi-circular arches. This transition from the latter style to the former, took place in the thirteenth century, just at the time when we know the church was about one-half completed. The great central tower was built on four massy piers, the bases of which may still be seen at the intersection of the nave with the transepts,

though of the precise form of the tower we have no account. The bases of a few of the pillars also exist : those in the nave being oblong unequally-sided octagons, seven feet by six ; while those in the choir are circular, and beautifully clustered, five feet and three-fourths in diameter. The east gable consists of three very ancient, oblong windows, with semicircular arches, and a large window above them. These are situated between two turrets which terminate in octagonal pinnacles. In these turrets are yet seen the terminations of the three rows of galleries, one above the other, which, when entire, ran round the whole clerestory, passing in some places within the thickness of the walls, and, in other places, opening by arcades into the interior of the church. The west front consists of a pointed arched gateway, ornamented with rich mouldings. Immediately above it were two windows, of which only one is entire ; and above these again, there appear to have been two others of somewhat larger dimensions. Only one of the turrets of the west front is standing ; it is of delicate and elegant workmanship, and terminates in an octagonal lantern-pinnacle.

There is no appearance of buttresses in any part of the ruins, except at the north-east angle of the Lady chapel, where there is the base of a very substantial one. There was, doubtless, another at the corresponding south-east angle.

“ It is a very interesting and remarkable fact,” says Britton, in his account of the English cathedrals, “ that nearly all the ecclesiastical edifices of this country, which are of contemporaneous ages, are of a corresponding or very similar style. It is not easy to account for this uniformity in the architecture of churches, at places remote from each other, by any other clue, than by considering that each new style originated at some convocation or assembly of the

monastic builders, or free masons, of each respective era." This remark derives confirmation from the following epitaph on a master architect, John Murdo, still legible on the walls of Melrose abbey:—

John Murdo sometyme callit was I,
And born in Parysse certainlie,
And had in kepying all mason wyrk
Of Sanct Andrewys, the hie kyrk
Of Glasgo, Melros, and Paislay,
Of Niddysdale, and of Galway.
Pray to God and Mary baith,
And sweet Sanct John, to keep this haly kyrk fra skaith.

These fraternities are supposed to have given rise to the existing institutions of free-masons, though the original object of their formation has long since been departed from. To this we may, perhaps, ascribe the lamentable decline of ecclesiastical architecture.

Slezer, in his "*Theatrum Scotiæ*," asserts that the metropolitan church of St Andrews was probably the largest in Christendom, being, he says, "seven feet longer, and two feet broader, than that of St Peter's at Rome." This is a most unaccountable assertion.¹ St Peter's is more than six hundred feet long. The cathedral of St Andrews was undoubtedly the largest in Scotland, yet most of the English cathedrals are larger than it. Winchester is 556 feet in length, York 524, Lincoln 524, Canterbury 514, St Paul's 514, Exeter 408, &c.

Martine informs us that this cathedral "was furnished with many fair, great, and excellent bells, which, at the razing of the church, were taken down and put aboard of a ship, to be transported and sold. But it is reported, and certainlie believed in this place, that

¹ Mr Lockhart, in vol. vii. of Sir Walter Scott's *Life*, p. 47, makes an assertion of similar import, namely, that the metropolitan cathedral of Scotland was the largest in Europe; and refers for his authority to an old Scotch writer, named Volusenus, (or Wilson,) "*De Tranquillitate Animi*." I have examined the book, and can find no allusion to St Andrews in any part of it.

the ship which carried off the bells sunk, in a fair day, within sight of the place where the bells formerlie hung." It is remarkable that the very same accident is said to have happened to the bell-metal belonging to the cathedrals of Aberdeen and Elgin.

Whatever truth there may be in these anecdotes, it is well known that immense quantities of bell-metal and lead, arising from the destruction of the religious houses, and the disinterment of the dead, were exported from Scotland immediately after the Reformation. This might yield a profit to the individuals who claimed the property in question, but it excited universal indignation at the sacrilege of the Scotch, and thereby tended to check the progress of the Reformation on the continent of Europe.

The stones and rubbish produced by the demolition of the cathedral lay where they fell, till so recently as the year 1826, when they were removed by order of the Exchequer, and the floor and the bases of the columns laid open. On this occasion three stone coffins were discovered, projecting from under the floor of the high altar. They still remain as they were found, excepting that the bones which they contained were taken out of them and buried. Whose coffins they were can only be matter of conjecture: but they were probably those of three distinguished prelates of the see; and I think they must have been placed there subsequent to the death of Wyntoun, (1420,) who often speaks of the tombs in the cathedral, but says nothing of these. My own opinion is, that they were the coffins of archbishops Shevez, James Stewart, and James Beaton; and my reasons are these:—assuming that they were not placed there before Wyntoun's time, the next bishop who died after him was Wardlaw, who was buried "in the wall betwixt the choir and our Lady's chapel." Next to him was Kennedy,

who was interred in his own college chapel of St Salvator. Then followed Graham, who died and was buried in St Serf's Isle, Lochleven. To him succeeded Shevez, who was buried before the high altar in the cathedral, and whose coffin, therefore, I conceive to be one of the three in question. Archbishop James Stewart was the next, who was buried in the same place, and is probably, therefore, the second. Forman, the following archbishop, was buried at Dunfermline; but J. Beaton was interred in the cathedral, "before the high altar," and is, in all probability, the third. The only two other Roman Catholic archbishops who succeeded, were Cardinal Beaton and Hamilton, who both met with violent deaths, and were buried elsewhere.

It is deserving of notice, that close beside these coffins, was found a skeleton with a deep cut on the skull, as if caused by the heavy blow of a broadsword;¹ and this might probably be young Archbishop A. Stewart, who received his death-wound at Flodden, and whose remains would, in all probability, be conveyed for interment to his own cathedral church, and buried among his predecessors.

On the floor of the south transept are several tombstones, of which only three have legible inscriptions. The words are in black-letter, and the oldest of the three reads thus:—"Hic jacet sepultus dompnus² Robertus Cathnic canonicus istius loci qui obiit anno dom. M.CCC.LXXX." Another has "Hic jacet Jacobus Elioly canonicus metropolitane ecclesie Sancti Andree qui obiit xviii die Novemb. ann. dom. M.D.XIII." At each of the four corners of the last-mentioned stone is a small compartment containing these words,—

¹ This skull is still preserved in the museum of St Salvator's college.

² The monkish way of writing *dominus*.

“fratres—obsecro—orate—pro me.” The third stone has “Hic ja— Ro— Graie quond—m vitriarius ac plumbarius hu— almi templi qui obiit i. m. n. anno dni. i. v —.” At the four corners of this stone are four shields: the first containing I.H.S.; the second, a lion rampant within an engrailed border, being the family arms of the Grays, which shows that the glazier and plumber of the metropolitan church was a man of some rank; the third and fourth shields each contain two arrows lying crossways. Near this is a much-mutilated stone with a few illegible words, and a mallet and mason’s hammer upon it, indicating probably that the deceased had been a canon-artificer. There is yet another flat monumental stone, in good condition, lying in St Leonard’s chapel, which has evidently been removed from the floor of the cathedral, and has upon it the following inscription:—“Hic jacet dominus Willielmus Ruglyn hujus ecclesie canonicus ac magister fabrice qui obiit viii. Aprilis ann. dom. M.D.II.”

There were in all, forty-nine canonical Archbishops or Bishops of St Andrews, whose names, and other particulars concerning them, have been given in the foregoing part of this work. The greater part of these were buried here, and many of them are known to have had expensive monuments erected to their memories. Some of them were among the first men of their age in respect to rank, talent, and influence; yet there is not the monument of *one* of them remaining, unless we except the three mutilated stone-coffins which I have already spoken of. There were also, as we learn from Fordun, more than twenty priors of the monastery interred in the chapter-house, which is close to the south transept of the cathedral church.¹ Here

¹ This part of the priory buildings has, within the last two years,

they no doubt rest in peace. Yet there is not a stone to mark their names; and, in all probability, their very graves have been rifled, and the lead in which their bodies were wrapped, as well as the ring, crosier, and silver chalice, with which it was usual for each to be adorned, carried off. In short, of the tombs of all the bishops and priors and numerous canons who were interred in the cathedral and chapter-house, there are no more remaining than the tomb-stones of three obscure canons whose inscriptions I have just given, namely, Robert Cathnic, James Elioly, and William Ruglyn; and one Gray, the plumber and glazier of the church. All the rest have been swept away by the reformers of the sixteenth century!

In the Appendix I have described the various services which the canons of the priory performed in the cathedral church in the course of the twenty-four hours. And what do we now see in the hallowed spot where they offered up their daily prayers and praises? A roofless church, broken pillars, mutilated monuments, fragments of stone coffins, and rank grass or

been laid open, by the removal of a prodigious heap of rubbish which had lain on the spot probably since the Reformation. It consists of the stone seats on the south side of the chapter-house, together with the passage leading to it from the cloister under the dormitory. At the opening from the cloister is a highly-ornamented door-way with a pointed arch, having on each side of it what may have been a window, somewhat smaller, but of nearly the same architecture. Close to these is a parallel passage which led from the cloister, under a semicircular arched door-way, to the open area behind the south transept of the cathedral. The square cloister was some years ago converted into a villa, of which the hot-house and green-house lean against the wall of the cathedral, their red brick chimneys reaching up to the Gothic windows, and vomiting forth smoke upon their antique mullions! This, having been archiepiscopal property, fell to the crown at the Revolution, which seems to have made it over to the university. By the latter it was disposed of to the town, and by the town feued to the late General Campbell, who built the present house upon the spot, and thus desecrated the venerable remains of the cathedral. There is no enormity which human nature may not become reconciled to, from seeing it daily perpetrated with apparent impunity.

noxious weeds shooting up their blades through the shattered tessellated pavement,—in a word, “the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not.” It is the vulgar fashion of the present day to abuse the unfortunate monks, and to charge their memory with every species of calumny. But let us remember that such charges came, in the first instance, from those who benefited by their spoils, and who had therefore a positive interest in disparaging them,—from men whose own sins were of a seven-fold deeper die than were the sins of those whom they first reviled, and then plundered. That among the monks there were some bad men, none will deny,—what community is without them? And that superstition had, in many cases, usurped the place of “pure and undefiled religion,” will readily be granted; but let those of modern times who are free from still greater offences, be the first to cast a stone at them. When we calmly reflect on the unfeigned piety of the great majority of those men who “departed not from the Temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day,”—their assiduous cultivation of learning,—their diligence in keeping their registers and chronicles, and transcribing their manuscripts, a great part of which we have wantonly destroyed,—their charity to the poor,—their disinterested hospitality to strangers,—their liberal encouragement of education, architecture, and horticulture,—their transmission to us of our Bible uncorrupted,—and finally, when we contrast with all this, the profane use that has since been made of the funds solemnly bequeathed for the most holy purposes,—we shall be forced to admit that the sin of sacrilege has entered into our vitals; and that, if a reformation were necessary in the sixteenth century, a more searching one is required for the nineteenth.

In regard to private altarpieces in the cathedral, there

were no doubt many ; as we know there were no less than thirty in the parish church, and several both in St Salvator's and St Leonard's chapels. But, though we occasionally meet with allusions to those of the cathedral, yet, from the loss of the Register of the diocese, we have no full account of any of them, except two, whose foundation-charters have accidentally been preserved, and which I have given in the Appendix.

There are some curious old epitaphs in the adjacent cemetery ; all, however, posterior to the destruction of the cathedral, the ground not having been used as a cemetery prior to that catastrophe. Among other epitaphs, there are two examples of what would now be called *puns* upon names, a practice much in vogue in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but to which no irreverent or ludicrous ideas seem to have been then attached. One of these is in Latin, on one Christian Wood, who died in 1636, and who is described as having been *sylvæ christianarum virtutum*, "a *Wood of Christian virtues*." The other is on a Christian Bryde, who died in 1665, and who is said to have "lived with her beloved husband twenty-six years," and who thus ends her epitaph, "Yet read my name, for *Christ-ane Bryde* am I." Carved on the tomb-stone is a representation of the lady and her husband joining hands, as if in the act of being married. I should not, perhaps, have noticed this last monument, were it not that a singular tradition has gone abroad, and is even now very generally believed in St Andrews and the neighbourhood, that this lady dropped down dead on the day of her marriage. This tradition must have originated from the above representation on the stone, in conjunction with the words "*ane Bryde* am I," which some persons had read, who would not take the trouble to read the whole inscription. I am informed by the sexton that many persons come from a distance, indif-

ferent about viewing the other antiquities of the place, but full of curiosity to see this wonderful monument; and are not a little disappointed to be told that the foregoing story, which they had heard and believed, is untrue. Nay, some who cannot, or will not, read, are such determined lovers of the marvellous, that they go away, resolved to believe the original story, in spite of the sexton's assurances that it is contradicted by the very words of the inscription! I may mention one other inscription. It is stated of a James Sword, who died in 1657, that for so many years he lived in Christ, *vixerat in Christo*. There was no thought of playing upon the words; but some one has put a dot after the *vix*, which makes the words read *vix erat in Christo*, "he was scarcely in Christ" during the said period.

The beam which overhangs the gateway on entering the burying-ground, is said to have belonged to one of the ships of the Spanish Armada, which was wrecked in the bay of St Andrews. It is well known that several of the ships of that ill-fated expedition were driven into these seas, some of which were wrecked, and others escaped with difficulty. One of them took shelter in Anstruther, of which there is a curious account in James Melville's "Diary."

CHAPTER VIII.

St Regulus's Church and Tower.

THIS is supposed to be the most ancient edifice in Scotland, perhaps in Great Britain. It is situated thirty-five yards south-east of the cathedral. The

tower is square, and about one hundred and eight feet in height. The walls consist of well-hewn stones, the space between which is filled up with lime, now so hardened as to be more difficult to cut than the stones themselves. The arches of the doors and windows are semicircular, approaching to the horse-shoe form. This building was repaired in 1789, at the expense of the Exchequer, and a winding-stair completed from the bottom to the top, the whole being roofed with lead, within a stone parapet four feet high. The edifice can scarcely pretend to the antiquity which Boethius ascribes to it; but its simple architecture shows it to have been erected long before the introduction of what is called the Gothic style. We may reasonably conjecture that it was constructed in the seventh or eighth century, soon after the foundation of the Culdean monastery, near which it stood, and the church of which it no doubt was. The tower is built of a remarkably durable stone, which is not now found in any of the quarries near St Andrews, nor has it ever been ascertained from whence it was procured. There are still the walls of the church remaining on the east side of the tower, beyond which there was a chancel, as appears from the annexed plan of the town as it stood before the Reformation. There was also an ante-chapel on the west; for, of the sloping roof of this building, a distinct trace may be seen on the wall of the tower; and a complete view of it is represented on several impressions of seals attached to the city and college charters. The same seals represent a small turret at the western extremity of this ante-chapel, or, it may be, two turrets, as, from the manner in which they are placed, the one perhaps conceals the other; and on these, as well as on the large tower, are short spires, like those we still see on the town and college church steeples. This edifice, when complete, could not have

been less than one hundred feet in length. The communication between the eastern and western parts, under the central tower, lay under lofty horse-shoe arches, three of which are yet entire, though now built up.

It was in this ancient church that Hungus king of the Picts, with his nobles, offered up their grateful thanks to God and St Andrew, on their bare knees, for the victory which they had been enabled to gain over Athelstane the Saxon; presented gifts in fulfilment of their vow; and made provision for the honourable custody of the relics of the apostle:

Syne St Andrewys relics there,
With honour gret reassavd were.

Here the venerable Culdean fathers worshipped God, and are buried. Here Constantine III. was interred; but his bones were afterwards dug up by the monks of Iona, and translated to their monastery. Here, too, are interred Edelred earl of Fife, son of Malcolm III., and abbot of Dunkeld, who had been a benefactor to the monastery; and Hugh Macflavertie king of Ailech and heir of Ireland, who did penance within its walls for his sins. Here, moreover, Bishop Arnold was consecrated by a papal legate, in the presence of Malcolm IV.; and, lastly, here repose in peace the remains of the said Arnold, together with Bishops Robert and Roger, whose tombs are mentioned by Wyntoun, though all traces of them have long since been effaced.

This church served as the cathedral of the diocese, till the one properly so called was constructed; and it was in its chancel that King Alexander I.

Gart them to the altar bryng
Hys comely steed of Araby,
Saddled and brydled costlyly,
Covered with a fayre mantlet
Of pretious and fyne velvet,
With hys armory of Turkey
That prince then used generally,

when he bestowed the "Cursus Apri" and other valuable gifts on the church of St Andrews.

Very near the tower, some curiously carved stones were recently dug up. They were fitted together in grooves, and, no doubt, formed a coffin. At present they are deposited in the museum of the Literary Society of St Andrews. The head-stone has five square compartments, containing figures of monkeys, and globes encircled by serpents. Four of these compartments are formed by a broad cross which is cut upon the stone, the fifth being at the intersection of its arms. There are two other stones, which exhibit numerous serpents intertwined, whose extremities terminate, sometimes in heads, sometimes in creatures resembling lizards. But the most remarkable of them all is a square stone, which formed the south side of the coffin, representing a sort of hunting scene. There is a man on horseback, with a hawk on his arm, ready to be devoured by a tiger; another man tearing open the mouth of a lion; a third armed with a spear and a shield; a greyhound in the act of seizing a fox; a nondescript quadruped with wings, mounted on the back of an ass; two monkeys and other animals—which are all well executed, but out of proportion, and thrown together without any regard to perspective. The whole is in *alto rilievo*. Some suppose them to be of Danish origin. Cordiner, in his "Antiquities of North Britain," gives some engravings of stones not very dissimilar, particularly of one or two in Ross-shire. The date he assigns to them is the tenth century. He observes that, in rude times, it was usual to bury in the graves of eminent men the weapons or implements in which they took pleasure when alive; and that hence, by an easy transition, the occupations which they were addicted to or excelled in, came to be represented on their coffins and tombstones. This account seems

plausible, in the absence of better information; but others are of opinion that the coffin in question, and like emblematical representations, must have been coeval with the introduction of Christianity into this part of Scotland; and that the connexion of the cross with the hieroglyphics of our Scandinavian or Pictish ancestors, marks their disposition to combine the symbols of the two creeds into one.

CHAPTER IX.

The Castle.

THIS structure, which answered the threefold purpose of an episcopal palace, a fortress, and a state-prison, was founded by Roger bishop of St Andrews, in the year 1200, as a residence for himself and his successors, by whom it is frequently called, in official documents, *nostrum palatium*. It was often besieged, taken, and demolished or dismantled, and as often repaired or rebuilt, during the various civil and foreign wars which prevailed from the time of its erection down to the Revolution. To almost all of these we have already adverted to in the foregoing history, and therefore we have now only briefly to refer to them in their chronological order, and to include such occurrences as were not previously noticed.

The first time the castle of St Andrews was taken and garrisoned by the English, was probably in July or August, 1298, immediately after the battle of Falkirk, on which occasion, we are told, that Edward I. "wasted Andrewis full plane." It was retaken from the English in 1305; and again taken by them in the

following year. But the victory at Bannockburn released this, and all the other fortresses in Scotland, from the grasp of the King of England.

Under the feeble minority of David II., Edward Baliol made an attempt to recover the throne of his father; and to a certain extent succeeded. Among other fortresses he took St Andrews and its castle, in 1332. But, in three years after, the regent, Sir A. Murray, retook it after a three-weeks' siege, with the help of battering machines, called *boustours*, by means of which he was enabled to throw stones of two hundred pounds weight against the walls. It is added that, not having a sufficient force to garrison it, he destroyed it, through fear of its again falling into the hands of the English. It was rebuilt by Bishop Trail sometime in the course of his episcopate, which extended from 1385 till 1401.

In this last-mentioned year, the unhappy Duke of Rothesay was confined here, by order of his uncle the Duke of Albany, preparatory to his removal to Falkland, where he perished. Here James I. was educated for a time under the care of Bishop Wardlaw, previous to his captivity in England; and, after his return, was in the practice of making this his residence, attracted partly by the well-known hospitality of the bishop, and partly by the literature of the infant university, which he used all his influence to encourage. In this fortress, the very year of his return from his captivity, (1425,) when celebrating his birth-day with some of his nobles and clergy, he received a deputation from the Flemings, who came to him for the purpose of settling the terms of a commercial treaty, which they were desirous of entering into with his subjects.¹

But James, amidst these festivities, unhappily did

¹ Fordan, vol. ii. pp. 487, 500.

not forget the injuries which he and his brother the Duke of Rothesay had suffered from their uncle the Duke of Albany, and his family. He caused the eldest son of that nobleman, Murdoch, who had succeeded him, to be imprisoned in the castle of St Andrews; and for his concern in the said injuries, real or supposed, he and his two sons were tried and executed on the same day, at Stirling.

In the acts of the Scottish parliament of James I., 1432, I find the following notice of a war-tax to be raised by certain auditors who are mentioned by name. The object was to defray the expense of a war, which the English, by their unprovoked aggressions, had forced upon this country. I have slightly modernized the spelling. "The auditors sal bigyn their compt on the morn next after the feast of the purification of our Lady next to come, at Perth, gif the pestilence be not there; and gif it beis there, at Sanctandros: the quilk auditors sal put this contribution in a kist of four keys; of the quilk keys, ilke ane of them sal have ane, and that kist to remain in the *castel of Santandros*, under the keeping of the bishop and the priour. And in case of peace beis made in the mean tyme, this contribution sal remain under the same keeping in depose, to the common profit and use."

Here the prudent Kennedy explained to his sovereign, James II., the manner in which he ought to set about the task of destroying the overgrown power of the Douglasses.

There is reason to think that James III. was born in the castle of St Andrews; for, in a charter granted by his father, (commonly called the "Golden Charter,") in favour of the bishopric, he speaks "of the happy birth of his first-born son in the chief mansion of the city of the blessed Andrew, the patron-saint of his kingdom."¹

¹ Martine's Reliquiæ.

In 1514, the celebrated Gawin Douglas, having been nominated by the queen-mother to the vacant primacy, took possession of this fortress; but was soon obliged to surrender it to the superior force of Prior Hepburn. He, in his turn, was induced to cede it to Bishop Forman, legate for Scotland, who had been appointed to the primacy by Leo X. ; and who did not scruple to employ some of his great wealth in bringing over all parties to his interest. And such were the vicissitudes of the times, that the unfortunate Douglas was soon after imprisoned for twelve months in this very castle which he had, at one time, good grounds for expecting would have been his episcopal palace.

At the end of the year 1524, Archbishop James Beaton entertained so many French and Scottish noblemen and gentlemen within his castle, that he had to provide nightly accommodation for four hundred and twenty horses.

The castle was pillaged, in 1526, by the Douglasses, out of revenge against the archbishop, for having taken part with their enemy the Earl of Lennox ; but in less than two years after, it again became a scene of festivity ; for the archbishop, in order to make up all past differences with the Douglasses, invited them and the young king, James V., who was under their charge, to pass with him the Easter holidays of 1528. On this occasion, James concerted a stratagem by which he succeeded in getting rid of a bondage to which he had long submitted with silent aversion.

From this castle the celebrated George Buchanan made his escape in 1539, and went to London ; from whence, not finding the protection he there sought, he passed over to the Continent, and obtained a temporary asylum at Bordeaux.

In 1543, Cardinal Beaton was imprisoned here, his own episcopal palace, by the governor Arran, and

the party which was in the interest of Henry VIII. ; but, after a few months, he found means to bring round the governor to his own views, and to obtain his freedom. In two years after, the cardinal and governor, with a numerous retinue, having made a visitation through the counties of Fife, Perth, and Angus, for the purpose of enforcing the laws against what was then called heresy, returned to St Andrews, where the cardinal entertained them in his castle during the Christmas holidays. They brought with them a black friar named John Roger, who had been convicted of preaching the reformed doctrines. This unfortunate man was thrown into the sea-tower of the castle, and a few days after, was found dead among the rocks below. He had no doubt been attempting to escape, and, falling down the precipitous rocks on which the tower stands, had been killed on the spot. Knox, with his usual malignity against Beaton, (who had faults enough without gratuitously adding to their number,) asserts¹ that the friar was first murdered, and then thrown over the rock, to make it be believed that he had been killed accidentally. But the cardinal was not the man to do any under-hand work of this kind. Secret murder was a crime which he left to his enemies. His great object was to make a public example of those whom he accounted heretics, in order to deter others from following their steps.

I have dwelt at some length, in the proper place, on the imprisonment of Wishart in this castle ; his being burnt in front of the gate ; the murder of the cardinal ; the subsequent behaviour of the conspirators ; their being joined by Rough and Knox ;² and

¹ History, p. 41.

² I am unwilling to leave the subject of the castle, Cardinal Beaton, and John Knox, without supplying an omission which I made elsewhere. It is in reference to Marion Ogilvy ; see vol. i. p. 305. According to Knox, when Kirkcaldy of Grange got into the castle, on

the latter's "call to the ministry;" together with the siege, capture, and destruction of the castle itself, by the French in 1546-7. The inferior structure of which we now see the remains, was soon after erected in its place by Beaton's successor, Archbishop Hamilton, whose arms and initials may be traced under one of the southern windows; and whose device, the five-rayed star, is above the gateway. "Yet," justly remarks the author of "The Picture of Scotland," "such is the persevering obstinacy of professed ciceroni, or their faithlessness, that a window in this ruin is shown as that over which the cardinal's body was exhibited by his murderers:" this very window being immediately above the arms and initials of his successor.

Monsieur Verac, the French ambassador, who had

the morning of the murder, he asked the porter "if my lord cardinal was awake? who answered, No: and so indeed it was; for he had been busy at his accounts with Mrs Marion Ogilvy that night, who was espied to depart from him by the privy postern that morning; and therefore, quietness, after the rules of physic, and a morning-sleep, was requisite for my lord." Now I admit, that M. Ogilvy was probably in life at the time of the murder, and that therefore Carruthers was probably mistaken in saying that "the cardinal was a *widower* previously to his entering into holy orders"; *ibid.* p. 306. But, in regard to the rest of the story, let it be remembered, *first*, that the lady in question was, at this time, the mother of their married daughter; and *secondly*, that the only postern that led into the town was strictly guarded; p. 301. If we add to this, the gross indelicacy of the foregoing extract, the coarseness of the language, and the unchristian *animus* betrayed against the cardinal's person,—and all as a prelude to a "merry" account of one of the most atrocious murders that ever was committed,—we may easily know how much truth to attach to the narrative. Indecency, vulgarity, and "malice prepense," are enough to shake any man's evidence.

I have one more remark to make, connected with this subject. The marriageable age of the daughter confirms, as far as dates are concerned, Beaton's marriage to M. Ogilvy. We know that he was not in holy orders till he was twenty-eight, which was in the year 1526. Suppose he married at twenty-four, or twenty-six; his daughter, who was married in 1546, would then be twenty-one, or twenty-three. It is easy to conceive that the cardinal was not exempt from the faults which were too common among the clergy of that age; but we have no proof, on which we can rely, that he was that monster of iniquity which a certain class of writers are fond of representing him.

been taken in the castle of Dumbarton along with Archbishop Hamilton, was confined here by the Regent Lennox in 1571; but was assisted in making his escape by David Spens of Wormiston.¹

In 1583, James VI., when he was only eighteen years of age, took refuge in this fortress from the Earls of Mar, Gowrie, and Glencairn, who, with the concurrence of the General Assembly of the Kirk, had kept him for twelve months in a sort of captivity. When within the gates, with the assistance of the governor, who was accessory to his design, he commanded them to be suddenly closed against his attendants, and thus escaped from their custody,—much in the same way that his grandfather, James V., had done at the same place, fifty-five years before, under very similar circumstances.

When Presbyterianism began to gain ground in Scotland under the influence of Andrew Melville, the celebrated act of Annexation was passed in 1587; by which a large portion of the property that had belonged to the Church, was conveyed to the crown. In this way, the castle of St Andrews, which had always belonged to its bishops,—which had, indeed, been originally built by one of them, and rebuilt by two others,—fell into the hands of James VI., who, in 1606, granted it to the Earl of Dunbar; giving the then titular archbishop, Gladstones, certain other properties instead of it. The earl, in his turn, appointed one John Auchmuchty to be its heritable keeper. But we will allow the official document on this subject to speak for itself:—

“ Attoure, our sovereign lord and estates aforesaid, with express consent and assent of George archbishop of St Andrews personally compearing in parliament,

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, pp. 240, 241.

considering how necessary it is to keep and uphold the castle of St Andrews, *presently altogether ruinous*, not only for the decorement and weal of the country, but also for preserving of the same from foreigners; and that the Archbishop of St Andrews, in respect of the great diminution of the rent thereof, is not able to build, uphold, and repair the same, and that it is necessary that the said castle be in the custody and keeping of a nobleman of rank and friendship, who is able to build, repair, and uphold the said castle, and resist the force and violence of foreigners; for that effect, his majesty disponed the said castle and castle-yard to the said George earl of Dunbar, upon the resignation of George archbishop of St Andrews; to whom our said sovereign lord has given and disponed, in recompense of the said castle and castle-yard, the provostry of Kirkhill, vicarage, and archdeaconry of St Andrews, to remain with the said archbishop and his successors in recompense as said is; and that, by and attoure an yearly pension of 300 merks given to the said George archbishop of St Andrews. Therefore, and for the said George earl of Dunbar's better security, our said sovereign lord and estates aforesaid, with express consent and assent of the said George archbishop, dissolves and dismembers the said castle and castle-yard from the said archbishop in all time coming; to the effect that the heritable right and custody of the same may remain with the said George earl of Dunbar, his heirs and successors in all time coming, notwithstanding the same pertained of old to the said archbishopric: and our said sovereign lord and estates decrees," &c.¹

Yet, on the full restoration of Episcopacy in 1612, by another act of that year, the castle is restored to

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, 1606.

the archbishopric, and due compensation for its loss is made to the Earl of Dunbar, and to its keeper John Auchmughty.

In 1617, James held a conference ("in the chapel of the castle," says Spotswood, who was present,) with the bishops and leading clergy of the Scottish church, on the subject of the "Five Articles of Perth," preparatory to their becoming the law of the church. When this was over, he had a religious disputation in the same place with Calderwood the Presbyterian historian, which ended in the latter's imprisonment and ultimate banishment.

"About the year 1626," says Stevenson, in his *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, "a Jesuit priest having appeared in the town of Dundee, the Lord Gray came there with a number of his friends, under colour, as sheriff of the county, of bringing the Jesuit to justice; but the magistrates, knowing too well his good affection for these cattle, to be deluded with his pretence, and being apprehensive of more assaults of that kind, sent the priest to the Archbishop of St Andrews, [Spotswood], who imprisoned him in his castle; but he soon made his escape through the negligence of his keeper."

The next and last occurrence of any importance connected with the castle, was the imprisonment within its walls, previous to their execution, of several royalist prisoners of rank, who had been taken by the covenanting army during the Grand Rebellion, for their fidelity to their religion and their king. It was on this occasion that Lord Ogilvy made his escape in the disguise of his sister's clothes, who had been permitted to visit him. Here young Lochiel secretly visited and conversed with Sir Robert Spotswood, the day before he was publicly executed; and here, finally, that distinguished statesman and scholar wrote a letter

to the gallant Marquis of Montrose, in which he exhibits a striking contrast to the blood-thirsty disposition of his enemies. With this letter I will conclude the foregoing sketch of the castle's history:—

“ My Noble Lord,—You will be pleased to accept this last tribute of my service,—this people having condemned me to die for my loyalty to his majesty, and the respect I am known to carry towards your excellence, which I believe hath been the greater cause of the two, of my undoing. Always, I hope, by the blessing of God's grace, to do more good to the king's cause, and to the advancement of the service your excellence hath in hand, by my death, than perhaps I otherwise could have done, being living. For all the rubs and discouragements I perceive your excellence hath had of late, I trust you will not be disheartened to go on ; and crown that work you did so gloriously begin, and had achieved so happily, if you had not been deserted in the nick. In the end, God will surely set up again his own anointed, and, as I have been confident from the beginning, make your excellence a prime instrument of it. One thing I most humbly recommend to your excellence, that, as you have done always hithertill, so you will continue, by fair and gentle carriage, to gain the people's affection to their prince, *rather than to imitate the barbarous inhumanity of your adversaries*, although they give your excellence too great provocations to follow their example. Now for my last request, in hope that the poor service I could do hath been acceptable to your excellence: let me be bold to recommend the care of my orphans to you, that when God shall be pleased to settle his majesty in peace, your excellence will be a remembrancer to him in their behalf ; as also in behalf of my brother's house, that hath been, and is, mightily oppressed for the same respect. Thus, being

forced to part with your excellence, as I lived, so I die, your excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

“ Ro. SPOTISWOOD.

“ *St Andrews castle, 19th January, 1646.*”

From this time, I can find nothing concerning the castle worthy of record, except that, in 1654, the Town Council ordered part of its materials to be used in repairing the harbour, p. 54. On the restoration of Episcopacy in 1661, the archbishops did not reside here, but in the Novum Hospitium of the priory. The castle then fell rapidly to decay. In the engravings of Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ* in 1697, it is represented as a ruin, and has so continued down to the present time.

Thus have we seen this celebrated structure used for almost every variety of purpose, and the theatre of nearly every kind of spectacle—a palace of bishops, and a dungeon for the confinement of heretics; at one time, a scene of hospitality, revelry, and mirth; at another, of stratagem and murder; taken in succession by the English, the French, and the Scotch; the birth-place of one king, the asylum of a second, and the council-chamber of two others; an object of contention among ambitious churchmen: now besieged, pillaged, and demolished, then rebuilt and refortified; the dungeon, alternately, of the virtuous and the criminal, the reformed and the unreformed; the scene of one preacher's imprisonment and death, and of another's controversy and capture; a witness, at once, of the bravery of soldiers, and the profligacy of assassins; a place of refuge for princes from their refractory barons; and, lastly, a fortress in which loyal subjects were incarcerated, before being led out to execution, as sheep to the slaughter, by covepananting rebels.

On the north-western angle of the quadrangular ruins where the sea-tower stood, may be seen a circular dungeon, twenty-five feet in depth, in which imagination has confined the martyrs Hamilton and Wishart, and where it is not improbable prisoners of inferior rank were formerly secured. It passes through a narrow seam of coal, and increases in circumference as it descends.

CHAPTER X.

The University.

HAVING already described, in the proper place, the origin of the university, and since the Appendix contains abridged copies of the bulls, charters, and statutes connected with its several colleges, I shall have the less to say on the subject in this chapter.

Nearly fifty years elapsed between the foundation of the university, (or *pedagogium*, as it was then called,) and the erection of the first college, which was St Salvator's. During this time, the instructors of the youth were beneficed clergymen, who were on this account specially exempted from residence on their cures; and the youth themselves were lodged in the city, and frequented the lectures of their teachers, much in the same manner that they do now. While this system was in operation, the number of students, says Boethius, *excrevit in immensum*; which was, perhaps, owing in part to the novelty of the institution, and the encouragement that was given to it by James I. Even so late as the year 1491, under the episcopate of

Shevez, we have seen an allusion, by a foreign writer, to the then flourishing state of the university, the number of its learned men, and its large and valuable library. But the erection of three separate colleges materially altered the state of things. St Salvator's was founded by Bishop Kennedy, in 1458 ; St Leonard's in 1512, by Prior Hepburn and Archbishop Alexander Stewart, conjointly ; and in the same year, St Mary's was changed by the latter from a pedagogium into a college.¹ In consequence of this arrangement, (owing to the greater exclusiveness of the new system,) the number of students fell off : but this was more than compensated by the stricter discipline, and superior advantages enjoyed by those who remained. Each college having been amply endowed by its founder or founders, was able to maintain within its walls, and out of its own funds, a certain number of masters, regents, chaplains, or vicars-pensionary, who were permanently attached to the establishment ; and to these were added a limited number of students of philosophy or theology, and scholars or *pauperes clerici*, (candidates for the higher orders of the priesthood,) who, after going through a course of study, were dismissed to make room for their successors. But it is important to remark that, at the period in question, the religious duties of the professors and students occupied a much more prominent place than they do at present ; and that, in fact, the colleges were as much convents for the exercise of prayer, and the observance of the fasts and festivals of the church, as institutions for the cultivation of literature.² If any young men, besides those on the foundation, wished to enjoy the benefit of these conventual seminaries, they were obliged to

¹ See Appendix IV. 1.

² This will appear by a reference to "the Statutes of St Leonard's college," in Appendix III. 3.

defray their own expenses; and were admitted within the walls, when there was room for them, on the condition of their strictly conforming to the rules of the establishment. The number of students and scholars in the three colleges, for whom there was a settled provision, both as to maintenance and instruction, was sixty; namely, six in St Salvator's, twenty-four in St Leonard's, and thirty in St Mary's; and the college books, before the Reformation, do not generally exhibit a greater number attending the university. Often, indeed, the number was less. In 1557, there were only ten at St Mary's, ten at St Leonard's, and eleven at St Salvator's. Next year, the entire number at the university was *three*; but the rector's book, which contains this statement, accompanies it with this significant remark—"Hoc anno," &c. "This year, on account of the tumults caused by religion, very few came to this university." In 1560, the respective numbers were seven, four, and seventeen; and in three years after, fifteen, twelve, and twelve; and so on afterwards, nearly in the same ratio. For the instruction of these students, there were, previous to the Reformation, no less than twenty-one beneficed clergymen, under the names of principals, masters, masters of arts, and regents, besides chaplains. In short, the members corresponded very nearly to the fellows, tutors, and scholars of the smaller colleges in the modern English universities; and it would have been a happy thing, both for the students and for the country, had this correspondence been preserved.

Even up to the time of the Reformation, the university in St Andrews continued to be, as it always had been, the principal one in Scotland. "We think it necessary," says the "Form of Church Polity" for 1560,¹ "that there be three universities in the realm;

¹ Spotswood, p. 161.

one in St Andrews, another in Glasgow, and the third at Aberdeen. In the *first and principal university, which is St Andrews*, that there be three colleges; and in the first college, there be four classes," &c. It then goes on to prescribe the number and nature of the lectures, professors' salaries, and other like particulars; but as these regulations were never carried into effect, it would be superfluous to detail them. Let it suffice to say, that the annual sum allotted for St Andrews was £3796 Scots; for Glasgow, £2922; and for Aberdeen, the same as Glasgow.

But the "disorderly" manner in which the Reformation was conducted, did infinite mischief to the constitution of the colleges, and that chiefly by the diminution of their revenues. This was produced by the operation of four different causes. *First*, The incomes of the parish ministers, and consequently of the colleges which arose from tithes, were reduced to the lowest minimum by the rapacious Regent Morton, and others of the nobles who had sacrilegiously seized the patrimony of the Church. *Secondly*, The incomes thus reduced, were unwisely converted, when things became more settled, from a grain into permanent money rent. *Thirdly*, This money-rent, though fixed in amount, has been gradually depreciating in value, from that time to the present, owing to the operation of causes which it would be foreign to my present purpose to investigate. And, *fourthly*, Out of this miserable remainder, the colleges have been obliged to uphold the stipends of the incumbents of the parishes belonging to them, at the current money-value. The consequence has been, that in most of the parishes in question, the whole amount of valued tithe has been long since exhausted; and nothing whatever drawn from a source which it was the intention of the munificent donors should be both ample and unalterable; and which it

would have been still, had there been the least regard paid either to reason or justice in the management of it. But as the Church at large suffered so much from the Reformation in respect to revenue, the universities could scarcely hope to escape. In truth, they suffered even more than the Church itself. That of Glasgow was for a time wholly deprived of its revenues.¹ And we may form some idea of the state of things here, from the following extract from an oration pronounced by Robert Barron on the death of James Martine, who was Provost of St Salvator from 1577 till 1623. He states that, when the latter succeeded to his office, "by the carelessness and avarice of former rulers, a great part of the property of this university had been wasted, and the patrimony of his own college in particular almost annihilated. The tithes of Cults, which were meant for the stipend of the provost, were reduced to £120 Scots, the rents of Kilmany were diminished, and the tithes of Forteviot² were held by proud plunderers, contrary to justice."³

To make up, in some measure, for the loss of revenue caused by this mismanagement and disorder, successive administrations, since that era, have made various grants to the professors of the university; though the whole of them come far short of what their income would have been, but for the causes referred to. The most valuable of these grants was a half month's cess on all the lands in Scotland, from Charles II. in the year 1681. With this, several farms near St Andrews were

¹ "About the time of the Reformation, the university [of Glasgow] was almost brought to desolation, and had been ruined, had not King James VI., in his minority, restored it by his royal bounty and munificence."—*Scotiae Indiculum*, p. 209.

² Forteviot had been given to the college by Archbishop Shevez; though I have never seen a copy of the charter by which it was conveyed. Vol. i. p. 243.

³ See Professor Pringle's MS. book, belonging to the university.

bought, which, owing to the subsequent rise in the value of land, now yield a considerable income.

It was owing to this diminution of revenue, that, in the year 1747, the colleges of St Leonard and St Salvator were obliged to be united; the latter affording the most suitable buildings for lecture-rooms, and the former having the least dilapidated income. The act of parliament which united them, speaks of this "sinking, but once-flourishing university." By this junction the two colleges were reduced from two principals and ten professors to one principal and eight professors, together with a certain number of foundation-bursars: and thus a better income was provided for each. There are now, therefore, only two colleges in the university:—St Mary's, appropriated exclusively for the study of divinity; and the United College for philosophy and the classics. The former, though it has retained its independence, has undergone a like reduction with the united college, or even a greater. Instead of a provost, a bachelor, a licentiate, and a canonist, five regents, an equal number of vicars-pensionary and students of theology, sixteen poor students of philosophy, and other inferior officers, for all of whom a permanent provision was made by the two archbishops, Beaton and Hamilton, all that the college is now able to support is, one principal and three professors, a janitor, and a few bursars; and even this, as I said before, it could not do without the help of government.¹ There are also a considerable number of private bursaries at both colleges, which have been founded by benevolent individuals since the Reformation, chiefly in the times of Episcopacy.²

¹ One of these professorships—that of Church History—was vacant, for want of funds, from the year 1662 till 1708.—*Records of the Synod of Fife*, p. 215.

² A most flagrant departure from a founder's will exists in the case of the Ramsay bursaries, which are three in number, and amount now

Indeed, it is remarkable, that the university owes its endowments almost exclusively to "popery and prelacy;" two things which they who profit by them, of all things, perhaps, love the least.'

The numbers of the students at the university since the Reformation, has often been below a hundred, and seldom above a hundred and fifty, except under peculiar circumstances, which did not continue in operation longer than a few years.¹ The usual time of entering is at the age of fourteen or fifteen, which seems too early; and yet, in former times, they entered earlier still. The biographer of the Admirable Crichton relates, as no unusual circumstance, that that accomplished youth enrolled himself at St Salvator's college when he was only ten years old, (1570,) and took his degree in arts when he was fourteen. Among the students at that period, and for many years after, there were a certain proportion of foreigners, a circumstance unknown in the present times. Dr M'Crie, in the Appendix to his life of A. Melville, gives a list of the names and colleges of these foreign students, from 1588 till 1610; from which it appears, that during that period they averaged seven or eight yearly. Even so late as 1770, Pennant, the celebrated traveller, when on a visit to St Andrews, says, "I observed, at one of the professor's, young

to about £90 each. Mr Ramsay was the Episcopal minister of Markinch, in the reign of Charles II., and out of his private fortune bequeathed these bursaries, exclusively for the benefit of the members of his own church. Yet they are constantly given to anti-Episcopalians; and at this moment, for certain well-known *political* reasons, are in the hands of Seceders from the Presbyterian establishment—a body who are, for the most part, the hereditary enemies of Episcopacy! I make no doubt that these Seceders are, in other respects, very deserving persons; but they must know that they are not those whom the founder intended to benefit by his bounty.

¹ The maximum number of students was two hundred and sixty, in the year 1824, when a certain popular preacher was professor of moral philosophy; though, what connexion exists between the qualifications requisite for these two offices, it would be difficult to determine.

gentlemen from Bath, Bordeaux, and Berne, a proof of the extensive reputation of the university. Notwithstanding, the students are far from numerous. There are, at present, little more than a hundred, who, during sessions, wear red gowns without sleeves." Till within the last few years the youth were divided into three grades, *primers*, *seconders*, and *terners*: but the levelling spirit of the age, or more properly, perhaps, the *parity* which one might expect in a Presbyterian university, has abolished these distinctions, and reduced them all to one rank. Down to 1820, the students lived within the walls of their colleges, and dined at a common table, the foundation-bursars being entitled to free commons. But that system is now abolished. The young men find lodgings for themselves in the town, and the bursars receive an equivalent in money for the loss of their commons.

The two principals and the eleven professors constitute one *Senatus Academicus*, for conducting the affairs of the university. They also confer degrees; and according as there are vacancies, they fill up the situations of chancellor, medical professor, questor, and librarian. The rector of the university is president of the *Senatus*, and is armed with considerable powers. He is chosen annually by the professors and students, conjointly: but, by the statutes, or, rather, by "use and wont," their choice is restricted to the two principals and the two divinity professors. Attempts, however, are at present being made by the students to have this restriction removed. The chancellor has no local duties which he may not perform by deputy if he please, and is commonly represented by the rector.

I may here make some reference to a few of the old statutes of the university, which are of various dates, commencing from its foundation, and coming down till the end of the seventeenth century. They

are very strict, and in general very excellent, though, from the decline of discipline, most of them have become obsolete. In regard to the dress of the students, they were forbidden to wear tight or short clothes, but loose, and extending to the ankle; and not to have tassels hanging from their necks,—“*cordulæ de cervicibus pendentes*.” As to weapons, they were prohibited from carrying swords, daggers, or knives, except for cutting their food; and if any such were found on them, they were to be seized, and the offending persons not only punished at the discretion of the rector, but expelled from their college. The students were divided into four classes or nations, called *Fifanæ*, *Lothianæ*, *Angusianæ*, and *Albanæ*, for the purpose of choosing, in conjunction with the graduates of the university, a rector, whose office continued for one year,—a regulation which exists to this day, though it has now become little more than a matter of form.¹ But the most remarkable feature in those statutes, is the very high rank, and almost unlimited power, which they confer on the rector of the university; a power which, I need scarcely add, is, in the present times, greatly circumscribed. The following is the account given in the “*Statutæ universitatis*” of the origin of this officer’s authority:—“On the 24th March, 1422, when Master James Scrimgeour was rector, it was agreed upon, at a council held by Bishop Wardlaw and the prior, (who at that time was James Haldenstone,) and the canons of the monastery, that, for preventing future disputes, the Lord-rector should go first from his stall in the cathedral church on all occasions of public ceremonies, (*antecederet ex cellâ*

¹ This idea of “nations” seems to have been borrowed from the university of Paris, which, at an early age, was divided into the four nations of France, Picardy, Normandy, and England.—*Hallam*, vol. iii. p. 523.

in templo positâ, aliisque id genus ritibus,) and take his place next to the bishop, the prior being next in order; and if the bishop were absent, the rector should be first. This agreement was ratified by the canons of the monastery, by the second prior, William Balbuthie, by the Prior of Lochleven, Andrew Newton, and by Lawrence Fyffe master of the hospital of St Leonard's, on the part of the monastery; and on the part of the university, by John Douglas dean of Moray, by Lawrence Lindores rector of Criech, and William Stephen rector of Restalrig. It was also agreed, that should any member of the university injure the prior or any one belonging to the monastery, complaint should first be made to the rector; and if he failed to take it up, the matter should then be referred to the bishop. On the other hand, if any one of the monastery injured a member of the university, the latter should complain to the prior through the rector, and if justice were denied him, that he should then appeal to the bishop, whose decision should in all cases be final. These things were concluded in the hall of the monastery, in the presence of the venerable father in Christ, Henry Wardlaw bishop of St Andrews, as is more fully detailed in the old book of statutes."¹

The two colleges have one library in common. This common or university library was founded by James VI., on the restoration of Episcopacy in 1610; who not only gave it a number of books himself, but caused

¹ This book is lost. See printed "Evidence," p. 232-237. But the original rector's book, in two parchment volumes, is preserved. It begins in A.D. 1470, and comes down to the present day; affording a very uncommon instance of the same book being carried on for three hundred and seventy-two years uninterruptedly. It contains the names of the rector and his assessors for each year, and the places in which he held his "congregation." These places were the refectory of the priory, and the churches of St John the Evangelist, of St Leonard, and of the Dominicans.

his queen and each of his children, Henry, Charles, and Elizabeth, to do the same. Dr George Abbot archbishop of Canterbury, also made it a present of books.¹ In the "Analecta Scotica" there is a letter² to John Murray of his majesty's bedchamber, afterwards Lord Annandale, from Dr Howie rector of the university, and some of the professors, thanking him for £10 sterling worth of books for their "bibliothec." They add, "and because we ar not able to requyt your worship's sa great liberalitie bot by thankful remembrances, we sall, God willing, mak the memorie of it continue sa long as this universitie sall stand." There is no date to this letter; but I should think it must have been written about the year 1620.

When King James visited St Andrews in 1617, he set down the following, among other articles concerning the university:—"That the library be finished, and furnished with all possible speed, *ne sint magistri sine libris*; and that means be used to draw scholars to the New Colledge for the studie of divinitie; and for their maintenance, there be two at least entertained by every diocese throughout the kingdom, by the help of the bishops, noble and gentlemen, and ministers of the said dioceses, *ut non sint libri sine magistris*." The university library was afterwards greatly augmented by the three colleges throwing their private libraries into the public one. These had gradually increased by the donations of their respective founders, regents, and professors, from before the Reformation down to the time of their junction. St

¹ See a curious volume published by the Maitland Club, entitled "Inventories of Buikis in the Colleges of Sanct Androis," in which the books given by the above and other personages are mentioned by name. Several of those bequeathed by Mr John Johnston, in 1611, have marked opposite to them—*Melvinus habet*. His friend Andrew had probably taken them with him to the Continent, and, as is too common with those who borrow books, forgotten to return them.

² Vol. ii. p. 342.

Salvator's was begun by Bishop Kennedy, its liberal founder, and added to by its future provosts. St Mary's was augmented by Archbishop Hamilton; but St Leonard's had by far the largest and most valuable library of the three. It was commenced by Prior Hepburn, whose name is still to be seen on the oldest books, and increased by the Earl of Buccleuch and Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit; but especially by the munificent gift of Sir John Wedderburn physician to Charles I., who was a regent in the college from the year 1620 to 1630; as well as by the legacy of the Reverend Dr Mungo Murray, son of William Murray of Ochertyre. This Dr Murray was a regent in the college from 1625 till 1635, and afterwards became professor of astronomy in Gresham College, London, and rector of Wells. At his death in 1670, he bequeathed several thousand volumes to his old college of St Leonard, a fact which is thus commemorated on his monument:—

*Moriens collegio Leonardino
Lectissimis multis instructam libris
suam legavit bibliothecam.*

Besides these, there were many donations of single works bestowed on the university library, from time to time, by different individuals. The celebrated Alexander Henderson, in 1642, gave £1000 Scots, or £86 sterling, in aid of its funds, which it is pleasing to record, as compensative of the injury he did to his king and country in other respects, though in the mistaken conviction that he was doing God service. The largest money-gift from a private person, seems to have been that of £100 sterling from a Mr Holls of Corscombe, in Dorsetshire, to be laid out in "works written by English, Scotch, or Irish authors, relating to government or to civil and natural history."¹ In the

¹ University Records, 14th July 1774.

library are three fine full-length portraits ; one of the present chancellor Lord Melville, by Sir David Wilkie ; and two by Mr Watson Gordon ; viz., the late Dr John Hunter, and Dr Haldane the present Principal of St Mary's. There are also portraits of John Knox, Dr Adam Ferguson, and the late Lord Kinnoul.

By the liberality of the professors, those of the inhabitants of the town who are able to appreciate the advantage, are supplied with books from the university library, under certain restrictions.

Until the year 1837, this university, in common with those of Great Britain and Ireland, was entitled to a copy of every new publication which proceeded from the press ; but government have now, in the case of St Andrews, commuted this right into an annual grant of £630, paid out of the consolidated fund ; a sum which must soon make the library very valuable and extensive, and be more than an equivalent for their lost privilege, which was reluctantly and irregularly conceded by the publishers, besides often yielding very worthless productions. The library at present contains upwards of 40,000 volumes. The most remarkable works in it are, a highly-finished illuminated Roman missal ; the copy of the Khoran which belonged to Tippoo Saib ; an old manuscript copy of Wyntoun's Chronicle ; a copy of Juvenal, printed at Venice in 1475 ; Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism in black letter, printed at St Andrews in 1552 ; and a copy of a large work on the ruins of Herculaneum, with numerous engravings, presented to the university by the King of Naples.

Down to the era of the Revolution, the Archbishop of St Andrews was, *ex officio*, chancellor of the university. In the Appendix, I have given a list of the laymen who succeeded to that office after the abolition of Episcopacy. Who were the chancellors in the time

of the Grand Rebellion, I have not learnt. Most likely there were none ; for the spirit of the times was averse to all control and subordination ; and the Covenanters, besides, were no friends to human learning. "The universities," says Malcolm Laing, "were appropriated to the most fanatical instructors ; and the language and philosophy of the schools were imperfectly taught, as subservient to a species of controversial divinity, that teemed with disputatious invectives against the errors of the times." The arms of the chancellors, from Bishop Wardlaw downwards, are beautifully cut in stone, in chronological order, on the side of the university library facing South Street. Down to the middle of the last century, one of the heads of the three colleges was always appointed vice-chancellor ; but, since that time, the name has fallen into desuetude, and the duties are performed by the rector and senatus.

The established *curriculum* for students at the university is, four sessions at the united college ; and, if they be designed for the church, four more at St Mary's. But if the divinity students prefer it, they may reside only three years, and enrol for one ; or they may reside only one year, and enrol for five. This arrangement seems contrary to the original design of a college education ; but it is made for the convenience of tutors and schoolmasters, who are desirous of entering the Presbyterian establishment, and are unable to be long absent from their vocations.

A degree of B.A. may be obtained at the end of the third session of regular attendance at the United College, and that of M.A. at the end of the fourth, by those who are prepared to undergo an examination in classics, mathematics, and philosophy, which is much more strict now than it used to be. No fees are demanded for these degrees ; and yet the proportion of those who

take them is small: a proof that objects are not the more sought after by removing the difficulties that lie in their way; and that they will not be sought at all, unless some substantial benefit is to be derived from them.

The degree of M.D. is conferred by the senatus twice every year; but not until after a severe examination, conducted by the medical professor of the university, in conjunction with certain distinguished gentlemen of the profession, who are resident fellows of the royal colleges of physicians or surgeons of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, or Dublin. The candidate must have attended a certain number of sessions at some university, or lectures by fellows of the above colleges, and produce certificates of having done so. If already possessed of a diploma from the said colleges, he has merely to submit to an examination. If an M.A., he is exempted from an examination in Latin. By a recent regulation, an attendance of one session on the medical professor and chemical lecturer of St Andrews, is recognised as a *medicus annus* by the medical boards of Great Britain.

This university has given to the world many illustrious men, a list of whose names will be found in the Appendix.

The university arms are curious, and bear evident marks of antiquity. In the centre is St Andrew extended upon his cross, beneath a canopy. On one side is an ancient professor, lecturing to his class, which is ranged at a table on the other side, with a *luminator*¹ holding a candle between them. Above, are suspended three shields with devices. The one on the right, with

¹ The office of *luminator* existed till lately in the university. Each class had one, who received his education gratuitously, and whose duty it was to furnish the students with lights, when he called them, in the morning.

the three mascles, is certainly that of Bishop Wardlaw, who founded the university. The royal shield on the left, is doubtless in honour of the contemporary sovereign James I.; but whose the centre one is I have not learnt, unless it be that of the spurious Pope Benedict XIII., who granted his bulls in confirmation of the university charters. This is rendered the more probable from the circumstance of the shield containing a half-moon, the family name of Benedict having been *Peter de Luna*. The legend is, "Sigillum universitatis magistrorum et scholarium Sancti Andree."

It appears, from the voluminous "Evidence" taken before the royal commission in 1826, for visiting the universities of Scotland, that from the Reformation down to the above date, inclusive, there have been seventeen different visitations of this university. They consist for the most part of details respecting discipline, correction of abuses, improved modes of teaching, rental of colleges, examination of students, repair of dilapidated buildings, &c. The details are generally tedious and uninteresting, and afford little to repay the labour of investigation. Upon a review of the whole, one cannot help coming to the conclusion, that the commissioners were more successful in detecting errors and suggesting remedies, than in carrying those remedies into effect.¹ The visitation of 1826 was ordered by William IV., and conducted by several noblemen, gentlemen, and clergymen, commissioned for the purpose. They gave in a long and able report; "but," observes the author of the statistical account of this parish, "though several attempts have been made to found upon it a legislative enactment, such a

¹ For a farther account of the university, see Appendix I., II., III., IV. There is also a large collection of documents on the same subject, in the seventh volume of the "Balcarres papers" in the Advocates' Library. The dates extend from 1438 till 1597.

measure has hitherto been found to be attended with difficulties of no ordinary magnitude; and none of the suggestions of the commissioners have received the necessary sanction for establishing their introduction and enforcement."

Another commission is at present sitting, which, like the last, is attended with considerable trouble to the individual members, as well as expense to the State. Whether it will do more than former ones, or whether its recommendations will be adopted, remains to be seen.

CHAPTER XI.

The Colleges.

United College of St Salvator and St Leonard.—The principalship, and the professorship of Mathematics, in this college, are in the gift of the crown; the professorships of Greek, Logic, Moral, and Natural Philosophy, in that of the college itself; of Medicine,¹ in that of the university; of Civil History, in that of the Marquis of Ailsa;² and lastly, the professorship of Humanity, in that of the Duke of Portland.³ The college session lasts from the end of October till the end of April. The students wear scarlet frieze gowns, and pay £3, 3s. a session to each professor whose lec-

¹ This chair was founded by the Duke of Chandos, when chancellor, about a hundred years ago.

² As the representative of Bishop Kennedy, who founded St Salvator's college.

³ As the representative of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, who founded it in the seventeenth century.

tures they attend. The bursaries are sixty-four in number, twenty-six of which are open to competition, the rest being private.¹

The parishes in the gift of the college are, Denino, Kemback, Kilmany, Cults, and Forteviot, of which the tithes and patronage had been settled on St Salvator's college before the Reformation. About a hundred years ago, the professors sold the patronage of Portmoak, and the adjacent superiority of Kirkness, to Sir John Bruce of Kinross. These last had been given to St Leonard's college by John Wynram, the titular prior of Portmoak, after the Reformation. The professors, about the same time, disposed of various other superiorities which yielded them no annual rent, but which having, at that time, county votes attached to them, produced about £400 each. Finally, they sold to the Earl of Kintore the patronage of the parishes of Kinkell, Drumblate, Skene, and Kinellar. These parishes, which had been seven in number, but were diminished to four by junctions, are spoken of in the college books, under the general name of the "parsonage of Kinkell;" but how and when they came into the possession of the United College, I have not been able to ascertain.²

The college still draws a revenue from numerous small feus, certain bishop's rents which were granted out of the spoils of Episcopacy at the Revolution, and rents of land annexed to some of the professorships. But it may be remarked here, as a curious circumstance, and as strikingly illustrative of the disorder and rapine which prevailed at the Reformation, that, previous to that era, St Salvator's college is known to

¹ See a list of the Bursaries, Appendix V.

² In a little book called *Scotiæ Indiculum*, published in 1682, are these words, "The parsonage of Kinkell, in Aberdeenshire, is *lately* annexed to St Leonard's college," p. 199.

have drawn an income from the lands of Balgoner, Bulbuthie, Lochmalony, Strathvithie, Newton of Wester Kincaple, Pitlathie, Pusk, Ardross, &c. These lands now yield nothing, and the very history of their alienation is unrecorded.

St Salvator's College.—For an account of the foundation of this college by Bishop Kennedy, see vol. i. p. 222. The edifice consists of a large quadrangle; and this, again, of the apartments in which the professors deliver their lectures; a hall more remarkable for its antiquity and dampness than its convenience, and therefore no longer in use; and a venerable chapel, in which is to be seen the monument of its pious founder. This monument is, or has been, a magnificent piece of what is called Gothic workmanship. It is still rich in elegantly-clustered columns, delicately-traced canopies, and studded pendants. The crocketed pinnacles which surmounted the canopies have long since disappeared; and still longer since, the figures of the saints which no doubt once filled the now vacant niches. The monument is said to have cost a sum equal to £10,000 of modern money; to account for which we must suppose the niches to have been filled with images of silver, as the mere workmanship could not have cost a third part of that sum. There are two lines of a Latin inscription on the monument, probably hexameters, which are so effaced as to be scarcely legible. I do not think any word in the first line can be positively determined except the final one. The second line is less effaced, and may be read thus:

Magister

Hicce finit fanum qui largis intulit ortum :

meaning, that the same individual who, by his bounty, began the church, had also completed it.

A writer in the year 1617, says of this structure, that “profane and wicked men had shamefully defaced

and disfigured it." But it suffered still more injury when the ancient and beautiful roof of the chapel was taken down about eighty years ago. It was thought that this roof, which was nearly flat, and of a peculiar construction, might some day fall by its own weight, as it seemed to have no adequate support. But after the workmen had unfortunately advanced too far to retrace their steps, they found, to their surprise, that the roof was so firm and compact, that they were actually unable to take it to pieces. Experience might have taught them that, whatever were the religious errors of their forefathers, a defect in church architecture was not one of them; though, indeed, if the latter could have anticipated how their religious edifices were to be treated by their semi-barbarous posterity, they would, doubtless, have constructed them less durably, as well as less expensively. The workmen's only alternative was to detach the roof gradually from the walls and buttresses, and make it fall *en masse*. The report produced by its fall is said to have shaken the whole city; and thus the very roof which the good bishop had no doubt constructed at great expense, and from a model of perhaps the first architects of his age, and which would have lasted as long as the walls themselves, was made to dilapidate, in its fall, the still more beautiful mausoleum which he had erected to his own memory!

The interior of the chapel was once thirty feet longer than it now is; that space having been taken off, from its being found longer than was needed. The fine gothic east window is walled up, the altar withdrawn, and the pulpit, with its preacher, substituted in its place. Besides being the chapel of the college, it serves now, also, as the church of the adjacent parish of St Leonard's; for such is the religious parsimony of the present times, that to have had a place of wor-

ship for each of these purposes would have been deemed extravagant. On the pavement of the vestibule is a monument to Dr Hugh Spens, who was Principal here, from A.D. 1505 till 1534. On the flat stone, the venerable figure of this divine is cut in low relief, with a cross upon his breast, his hands folded upon his chest, his initials, H. S., at his side, and his family shield at his feet, having the Spens' arms—a lion rampant under a bend, which has upon it a buckle between two mascles. The inscription, as far as it is legible, runs thus:—"Hic req rendus et egregius vir m̃gr. ñr [Hug]o Spens theologus eximius in utroque jure qui va[riis] ditavit muneribus. Obiit año dñi 1534 et 21 die Julii." But here again unholy hands have evidently been at work. The stone had been taken up, perhaps with a view to carry off the lead in which the Principal would no doubt be interred. In doing so, they must have broken it transversely into two parts near the middle. They then straightened the edges so as to make them fit; and thus not only made the stone shorter by about six inches, but annihilated the letters HUG on the one side, and RIIS on the other. They then restored the two stones to their place; but, owing to some unaccountable negligence, they reversed the eastern division, and thus brought the feet of the figure into contact with its chest! In this manner the stone lay from time immemorial, till it was restored, only a few months ago, to its proper position; but, in consequence of the part that is wanting in the middle, the figure of the Principal has a stunted and dwarfish appearance.

Over the entrance to the college, as well as over the gateway of the church, are the arms of the founder, with the Kennedy motto on the former, "avise la fin."

In the college there is shown an exquisitely-wrought silver mace, which, in the year 1683, is said to have

been discovered in Bishop Kennedy's tomb, along with five others similarly formed, but not so handsome. Of these five, two are preserved in St Mary's college, one was given to the university of Aberdeen, one to Glasgow, and one to Edinburgh. Appended to the one in this college, is a label with a Latin inscription, to the effect that Kennedy caused it to be made in Paris, in the year 1461; a second, containing the name and designation of the maker, viz., "Johne Mair goold-smythe and verlotte of chamer til the Lord Dauphin, has made this masse in the towne of Paris, in the year of our Lord 1461;" and a third, stating that Dr Skene, principal of the college, caused it to be repaired in 1685.

But it will be proper to give some further account of this remarkable mace. It is of massy silver, partially gilt, four feet long, and weighs nearly twenty pounds; but, like all ecclesiastical remains in Scotland, has suffered from the hands of violence. It consists of four divisions or compartments, and a base, each compartment having a triple projection. The various devices upon these have, no doubt, an emblematical meaning, but I am not sure that I have discovered all of them. The upper extremity of the upper division consists of arches, canopies, and crocketed pinnacles, surmounting the interior of a dome. Beneath this dome is a figure of the Saviour, (the Sanctus Salvator to whom the college is dedicated,) about three inches long, standing upon a globe, and being adored by three angels; the first angel holding a cross, the second a spear, and the third, a reed with a sponge. Behind each angel is a round turret, on the tops of which are symptoms of something having been burnt, probably incense, when the mace was carried in procession. Immediately below the globe on which the Saviour

stands, is a hollow space, perhaps intended for the lower regions, guarded by six lions couchants, two of which, however, have been wrenched off. Between every two of these animals is a hairy savage, or scaly demon, three in all, sitting at the three portcullis entrances to the said hollow space, having coats of arms on shields placed between their legs, and each armed with an uplifted baton and shield. Between these personages, somewhat more elevated, are a bishop with his mitre and crosier, a king with his crown and sceptre, and an abbot in his cloak and cowl. Perhaps the Saviour and the angels may denote the church triumphant; the king, bishop, and abbot, the church militant; and the space below, with its demon guardians, hell. The second compartment in the mace has two angels, (the corresponding third having disappeared,) each with wings extended, in the attitude of preaching from a pulpit. Between these, a little lower down, are three churchmen, each reading a book in a desk. The third compartment contains three turrets, with vacant pulpits placed between them, out of which probably the silver preachers have been extracted. The fourth compartment has three figures in as many pulpits, with their faces turned inwards in the attitude of prayer, two of which are broken off in the middle. Between these are two churchmen, reading from a scroll, in their desks; the corresponding third one having been carried off. The base was evidently ornamented with four lions couchant, two of which only remain.

I have said that the six maces were found in the bishop's tomb in the year 1683. I am not aware on what good authority this rests, except the inscription on the one just described, which states, that it was repaired by order of Dr Skene in 1685, who

was Principal of the college in that year. Perhaps they were deposited there at the time of the Reformation, to be safe from the rapine which marked that period. Be this as it may, it was recently determined to re-open the tomb, and examine further into its contents. On the 10th June last year, accordingly, it was entered without much difficulty from the outside of the church, by removing a few stones in the wall. Till then, a doubt had existed whether the remains of the bishop had been placed immediately under the large black marble slab in the recess of his tomb, or at some considerable depth under the ground beneath it. This doubt was now dispelled. Under the slab there is a shallow irregular space, large enough perhaps to contain a human body, but in which there was nothing but some loose stones and rubbish. Immediately beneath this, is a strong arch, on which the whole weight of the monument is supported; and below that again, there appeared an immense quantity of loose travelled earth. This earth the workmen employed began to throw out of the opening by which they had entered. For a time, no result appeared; but at length, human bones were found—the leg and arm bones, and finally the skull—not lying by themselves, but dispersed in different parts among the loose earth. Several of these bones bore evident marks of having been embalmed, as fragments of cerecloth were still adhering to them. Pieces of a wooden coffin were also found, but no leaden one, which must have been abstracted. When the greater part of the earth was ejected, it appeared that the space consisted of a remarkably well-finished square cell of eight feet by three and a half, and about five feet in height; with a cross at the east and west ends, neatly cut upon marble slabs of about two feet square. Broken pieces of painted tiles were also found among

the earth, with which the floor of the cell seemed to have been paved. It was also discovered that there was a small stone stair of four or five steps leading into the tomb, from the interior of the church, immediately in front of the monument. It was now evident that the remains of the bishop had been laid in the empty cell, with his feet towards the eastern cross, and his head towards the western. This cell had probably been opened in 1683, as before observed, the maces discovered and removed, the leaden coffin also removed, the bones of the bishop carelessly scattered about, instead of being left as they were found, and the space afterwards filled up with earth. The bones were now, however, carefully collected, and placed in a box, the cell filled up again, and the opening in the wall rebuilt. The skull was previously examined phrenologically; and pronounced by connoisseurs to evince great firmness, conscientiousness, and veneration, but not that degree of intellectual capacity which might have been expected from the well-known ability of the illustrious prelate.

In the same college there are preserved two silver arrows which used to be shot for annually in St Andrews, together with the silver medals which the winners were entitled to attach to them. The figures of the archers, while in the act of shooting, are engraved on their respective medals, some of whose attitudes and costumes are very curious, and give one a good idea of the dress of the period.

The body of archers here alluded to, existed in St Andrews (except during the Grand Rebellion, and a few years before and after it) from the year 1618 till the year 1751; and as many of the individuals composing that body belonged to some of the first families in the country, at the time when the university was more frequented by young men of rank than it is now,

I will here subjoin a list of their names, the mottoes of their families, and the date of their winning the silver arrows,—all copied from the medals above-mentioned.

The first arrow has thirty-nine medals attached to it, the weight of the whole being one hundred and sixty-six ounces of silver. .

No.	Date.	Name.	Motto.
1.	1618.	J. Cunningham.	
2.	1619.	J. M.	
3.	1620.	W. Dundas.	
4.	1622.	Earl of Morton.	Sicker.
5.	1623.	Archibald lord Lorn. ¹	I byde my tyme.
6.	1624.	Lord Robert Douglas.	
7.	1626.	D. Leslie.	
8.	1627.	J. Stirling.	
9.	1627.	Earl of Wemyss.	
10.	1628.	D. Forrester.	

Here follows a long blank, occasioned, no doubt, by the civil troubles.

No.	Date.	Name.	Motto.
11.	1675.	Dav. Drummond.	
12.	1676.	John Ramsay.	Superna sequor.
13.	1677.	Will. Cockburn.	Plus vigila.
14.	1678.	Colin Campbell.	Arte et marte.
15.	1679.	Lord Cha. Carnegie.	Dread God.
16.	1680.	Dav. Viscount Stormont.	Spero meliora.
17.	1682.	Alex. Watson.	Augetur sedulus.
18.	1683.	Alex. Yeamane.	
19.	1684.	John Kindal.	
20.	1685.	Dav. Drummond.	Cum corde.
21.	1687.	M. Graham of Gorthy.	Sepulto viresco.
22.	1689.	A. Robertson of Strewan.	Virtutis gloria merces.
23.	1690.	A. Graham of Blackness.	Nec temere nec timide.
24.	1692.	Lord Lindsay.	Love but dread.
25.	1693.	Rob. Heriot of Ramornie.	
26.	1694.	Earl of Rothes.	Grip fast.
27.	1695.	P. Nairne of Sandford.	L'esperance me confort.

¹ The same who afterwards became the first Marquis of Argyll, of whom his own father predicted to Charles I., that he would "wind him a pirn" if he trusted him.

No.	Date.	Name.	Motto.
28.	1697.	James Bethune of Balfour.	Le debonnaire.
29.	1698.	W. Nairne of Baldovan.	L'esperance me confort.
30.	1799.	R. Fringle, Cupar.	
31.	1700.	John Pattullo of Balhouffie.	Ægris opem fero.
32.	1701.	And. Galloway, Dunkeld.	
33.	1702.	G. Paterson of Dunmoore.	Huc tendimus omnes.
34.	1703.	T. Aiton of Kinaldie.	Quæ sursum sunt.
35.	1704.	J. Craigie of Dumbarnie.	Honeste viva.
36.	1705.	R. Hay of Strowie.	Cresco sub jugo.
37.	1705.	A. Cassie of Kirkhouse.	Sub pondere sursum.
38.	1706.	Lord William Murray.	
39.	1707.	D. Scott of Scotstarbet.	

The second arrow has thirty medals, and weigh together fifty-five ounces and four drachms of silver.

No.	Date.	Name.	Motto.
1.	1710.	Alex. Sharp.	Pro mitra coronam.
2.	1712.	Rob. Fotheringham, (aged 15).	Be it fast.
3.	1714.	Alex. Sharp.	Pro mitra coronam.
4.	1716.	Lord Elcho.	Je pense.
5.	1716.	William Vilant.	
6.	1717.	Lord Maitland, (aged 16).	Concilio et animis.
7.	1718.	Adam Murray.	Tout prest.
8.	1719.	Lord Rosehill.	Tache sans tache.
9.	1719.	Lord Doune.	{ Salus per Christum redemptorem.
10.	1720.	James Lealie.	Grip fast.
11.	1720.	Charles Lealie.	Grip fast.
12.	1720.	Thomas Leslie, (aged 13).	Grip fast.
13.	1720.	Lord Leslie, (aged 14).	Grip fast.
14.	1721.	Alexander Haldane.	Suffer suffer.
15.	1722.	Dav. Bethune of Kilconquhar.	Resolutio cauta.
16.	1724.	Alex. Aiton of Kinaldie.	Quæ sursum sunt.
17.	1725.	Alex. Scrimgeoure of Tealing.	Dissepate.
18.	1727.	Geo. Haddow, (aged 15).	Ut præsim.
19.	1728.	James Pattullo of Balhouffie.	Ægris opem fero.
20.	1729.	Robert Young.	Press through.
21.	1730.	David Sibbald.	
22.	1730.	James Durham of Largo.	Victoria non præda.
23.	1735.	A. M'Leod of Muiravonside.	Murus ahenus.
24.	1736.	John M'Leod of Talisker.	Murus ahenus.
25.	1738.	Sir James Sharp of Stratyrum.	Pro mitra coronam.
26.	1739.	Sir R. Henderson of Fordell.	Sola virtus nobilitas.
27.	1745.	A. Bayne of Riraces.	Virtute.
28.	1749.	A. Duncan of Craigton.	Disce pati.
29.	1750.	Geo. Dempster of Dunnichen.	Fortiter et strenue.
30.	1751.	Earl of Elgin.	Fuimus.

The charter-press of this college contains some original bulls of Popes Nicholas V., Eugenius IV., Pius II., and Julius III., which relate to the foundation and endowment of the two colleges, and are remarkable for their exquisite penmanship. It also contains a great number of charters, which are chiefly endowments of altarges and choristerships in the chapels of St Salvator and St Leonard, for the performance of *obits* in behalf of the souls of the donors. The lands and tenements of which these endowments consist, were, at the Reformation, of course, diverted from their original intention, but still yield a small annual-rent to the United College. There are also some charters of prebendaryships granted to St Salvator's before the Reformation, and of bursaries given by private individuals both before and after that era.

In the old hall of this college is John Knox's pulpit, from which, it is said, he addressed the multitude when he roused them to destroy the cathedral and monasteries in 1559. It is accordingly pictured in the celebrated engraving recently published, which represents the preacher in the act of delivering that historically-important sermon. The pulpit is of carved oak, and much decayed; yet it has still the twisted iron frames which held the baptismal basin and hour-glass; and two projecting boards, one probably for the Bible, and the other for the Prayer-Book of Edward VI., which last, we know, was used at that time by the reformers.

In the same college is a good museum, which is connected with the "Literary and Philosophical Society of St Andrews." It is well stocked with the articles usually seen in similar depositaries, and is continually receiving fresh additions from the bounty of scientific individuals. A minute account of its contents is unnecessary; but I may observe that it

contains mineralogical specimens, fossil remains, shells, skeletons, anatomical preparations, a mummy, insects, stuffed birds, quadrupeds, fishes, and snakes, coins, Indian deities, oriental implements, and the remarkable stone coffin described in Chapter VIII.

St Leonard's College.—For an account of the foundation and endowment of this college, see vol. i. p. 254. All that now remains of it is the ruined chapel, the old hall, and a few buildings which have now been converted into dwelling-houses and offices. On the largest of these is this inscription:—"Erexit Gul. Guild, s s t d. 1655." In another, is still to be seen the room which was occupied by George Buchanan when principal of the college. He was presented to this situation by Queen Mary, who, besides, made him her own and her son's preceptor, and settled upon him a pension of £100 sterling out of the temporalities of Crossraguel abbey, which had shared the fate of the other monasteries at the Reformation. Yet even he, reformer though he was, did not think himself safe from the rapacity of the still more reforming Earl of Cassillis, of abbot-roasting celebrity, who thought he had a prior claim on Crossraguel, till he had put himself under the formal protection of the state. Buchanan was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk in 1567, at a time when the distinction between clergy and laity was lost in the confusion of the times, or was stigmatized as "the pride of papistry." His obligations to Queen Mary he ill requited, by going to England as one of the commissioners for accusing her to the too-willing ear of her rival Elizabeth, and writing a book entitled "Detection of her Doings," designed to prejudice the minds of her subjects against her. For these services, he received £100 per annum from the Queen of England; so that, though he did not serve two mistresses, he took wages from both.

Buchanan's merits as a poet, and demerits as an historian, are well known. Sir James Melville, who knew him personally, says of him: "He was of good religion for a poet, but he was easily abused; and so facile, that he was led away by every company that he haunted for the time, which made him fractious in his old age; for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him for the time informed him, and was become slippery and careless, following, in many things, the vulgar opinion; for he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any man that had offended him, which was his greatest fault."¹

At the era of the Reformation, St Leonard's college, though a monastic institution, was distinguished for its opposition to the Roman Catholic Church; so that to have "drunk of St Leonard's well," became a proverbial phrase for having imbibed the reformed opinions.

The roofless chapel is seventy-eight feet long, and eighteen wide. Both on the wall and pavement are several remains of monuments, all more or less injured by time and weather. The first of those on the wall deserving notice, is, probably, that of the celebrated Prior John Hepburn, principal founder of the college; but it is constructed of so friable a stone, that except the general form of the monument, a few doubtful devices, and the faint outline of a shield, nothing can be traced. The next is that of Robert Stewart earl of March, bishop-elect of Caithness before the Reformation, and, after that era, Commendator of the priory of St Andrews. We have already had occasion to speak of him.² This monument is of a Grecian order; and the epitaph states that he died in 1586,

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 262. These faults did not hinder him from being enrolled among the "Scots Worthies."

² Vol. i. pp. 382, 396.

aged 63. On the architrave, are these two hexameter lines :

*In portu fluctusque omnes classemque relinquo,
Me spectans mundumque omnem facesque relinque ;*

which may be thus freely rendered : " Here I leave behind both the honours and troubles of the world ; take example from me, and withdraw from its vanities." He married a daughter of the Earl of Atholl, by whom he had no issue, and lived privately at St Andrews till his death. As was too much the custom in those sacrilegious times, he gifted away some of the rents, both of his bishopric and his priorate, to those who had as little title to them as himself.

There is another mural monument to the memory of Robert Wilkie, who was twenty-one years principal of the college, and enriched it with gifts and bursaries. He died in 1611. The long Latin egotistic inscription says of him, that he " enclosed the area with buildings to the west, and made additions to those on the east, and bequeathed four thousand two hundred marks for the sustenance of the poor." The concluding words are, " *nutrio 6 inopes*," in allusion to six bursaries which he founded, though now only two under the name of Wilkie, of £9 each, appear on the list of bursaries belonging to the United College. He was the immediate predecessor of David Black, as senior minister of the parish of St Andrews, though he had never undergone any form of ordination ; and was, moreover, the friend both of Andrew and James Melville.

On the pavement of the chapel are a few monumental stones with inscriptions, some of which are illegible, and others consist of fulsome compliments, or commonplace moral sentiments, scarcely worth recording. The most perfect, is one at the north-east corner, in memory of James Wilkie, principal of the college, and predecessor, as well as uncle, of the foregoing

Robert. He died in 1590, aged 78. He was the Moderator of the synod which, in 1586, excommunicated Archbishop Adamson by a majority of two. There are also two stones, lying side by side, which, from their black-letter characters, and the figures carved upon them in their robes, were doubtless canons of the priory attached to St Leonard's college. One of them, whose name is Emanuel Young, seems to have the date 1520, and the words " jacet in quo funduntur (?) preces magne deitatis amice qui obiit ;" meaning, probably, that he lies buried where an altar was dedicated and prayers offered up to the Virgin. The only two remaining corner divisions, have " anima " and " mea." The corresponding stone has the words " magister ex inopum numero primus sacramenta ministrans qui obiit O domine saluum me fac." The only remaining corner has " adjutor." There is another stone towards the west end of the chapel, in memory of John Archibald and his wife, which begins thus : " Hic jacet Johannes Archibaldus cum Margarita conjugue sua primi et precipui hujus almi collegii qui obierunt anno salutis " This Archibald, I find elsewhere, founded an altarage in the year 1525, and deposited £200 in gold in the hands of Gavin Logie, regent in the college, as an endowment for performing an obit for his soul for ever. This Logie, we have already seen, (vol. i. p. 280,) was obliged to make his escape from St Andrews for a suspicion of heresy; but what became of the £200 is not stated. But the most remarkable of all the tombs, is that of the famous John Wynram. This person had been sub-prior of St Andrews, in which capacity he assisted at the trial and condemnation of Sir J. Borthwick, George Wishart, and Walter Mill, for heresy. Yet, in 1560, he openly joined the Reformers, and was made Superintendent of Fife, and Commendator of the priory of

Portmoak. This priory he annexed, before his death, to the college of St Leonard, for the sustenance of four students of theology and philosophy, reserving to himself the life-rent of the same. In 1572, he assisted at the inauguration of Mr John Douglas, the first tulchan archbishop of St Andrews. The records of the General Assembly exhibit several complaints against him for negligence in visiting his district. "His timidity and temporizing conduct were often blamed by the Protestants, and afforded a topic of invective against him to the Roman Catholics, when he deserted them."¹ This conduct seems hinted at in his epitaph, where, speaking of his change from Popery to Protestantism, it says,—"*Wynramo Coenobiarchæ conversis rebus Fifanorum episcopo*;"—as if he thought it a matter of doubt whether the change were for the better or the worse, and as if, like his contemporary the Vicar of Bray, he was prepared to attach himself to either party. He died in 1582, aged 90. On the stone there is a shield with a *ram*, by way of device, or play upon his name, which was a common practice in those days.

When Dr Johnson was here in 1773, he called this chapel "a fabric not inelegant of external structure;" but, at that time, the spire had not been taken down, which it has unhappily been since,—nor the windows built up, which have, however, been lately re-opened. "But," adds the doctor, with a just sarcasm, and in his peculiar style, "I was always hindered by some civil excuse from seeing it. A recent attempt, as I was told, has been made to convert it into a greenhouse, by planting its area with shrubs. This new method of gardening is unsuccessful. The plants do not hitherto prosper. To what use it will next be put, I have no pleasure in conjecturing. It is something

¹ Dr M'Crie.

that its present state is, at least, not ostentatiously displayed. Where there is shame there may yet be virtue." Two feet of mould had been laid on the floor for the purpose just mentioned. When the shrubbery failed, the chapel was converted into a coal-house for a neighbouring boarding-school. When the school was removed, and the coals were consumed, the area became a wilderness of weeds. At length, about three years ago, "shame" having produced "virtue," it was cleared out, when the above-mentioned tomb-stones were discovered, which were not known before, or not remembered, to have existed. I am sorry to add, that it is again falling back to its former wilderness state. Truly, Presbyterianism is not an antiquarian religion.

St Leonard's hall is an ancient edifice, having upon it the arms and motto of Prior Hepburn, supported by two angels, extremely well executed. The building consists of three long, but narrow apartments, two of which were probably used as a refectory and dormitory for the students of the college.

St Mary's College.—See an account of the foundation and endowment of this college, vol. i. pp. 284, 316. The site is supposed to have been that of the original pedagogium. On the north side of the quadrangle, is the university library; and, on the west side, are the divinity hall and the Principal's lodge. There was once a chapel in this college, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, which, as it must have stood east and west, probably occupied the south side of the quadrangle; and this derives confirmation from a certain adjoining tenement being described, in a charter of 1494, as "situated between the chapel of St John the Evangelist and the school of the university of St Andrews on the west, and Butler's [or West-burn] Wynd on the east."¹

¹ MS. Catalogue of Charters, p. 73.

Ever since the year 1579, the college has been confined to the study of divinity. The principalship and the three professorships, which are of Divinity, Hebrew, Biblical Criticism, and Church History, respectively, having been, in the time of Episcopacy, in the gift of the archbishop, are now in that of the crown. The session lasts from the 1st of December till the 31st of March. The students wear no gowns, and pay no fees; but, before being admitted, must have passed through the usual philosophical and classical studies, at this or some other Scottish university. The bursaries are twenty in number.

The parishes in the gift of the college are, Tannadice, Craig, Logie-pert, Lawrencekirk, and Tweedsmuir. Tynningham was formerly in its gift; but the perpetual patronage of it was sold, in 1760, to the Earl of Haddington, for the small sum of £100; and it may be added here, that as there had been a loss of teind from that parish, King William III. granted the college an annuity to make it up, out of the recently-abolished archbishopric of St Andrews. The revenues of the Scottish bishoprics, after "the glorious Revolution," like their ruined cathedrals, became *quarries* from which, upon application to the royal proprietor, materials were procured for repairing all kinds of dilapidated institutions. Of the five parishes above-mentioned, only two now yield any return, and even that is continually diminishing, owing to the causes I have explained in the last chapter.

The papal bulls of Paul III. and Julius III., authorizing the endowment of the college out of the archiepiscopal revenues are still preserved in the charter-chest, and are remarkable for the beauty of the handwriting.

The royal arms of Scotland, having a crown above, St Andrew on his cross below, and surrounded with

a garland of thistles, are immediately over the porch of the Principal's lodge. On the scroll below the shield, are the words, "In defens, ano. dni. 1563." Archbishop James Beaton's arms are on the wall of the college; and Archbishop Hamilton's, in a very mutilated state, are over the door-way leading to the divinity hall. The initials M. R. H. are also to be seen on various parts of the walls, signifying Magister Robertus Howie, who was principal here from 1608 till 1648.

Two massy silver maces are preserved in this college, which, along with four others, are said to have been found in Bishop Kennedy's tomb, p. 197. They are about four feet long, and bear a great resemblance to each other. Their summits or pinnacles consist of three hexagonal divisions, narrowing as they ascend. The upper division of each represents six Gothic windows, with beautifully variegated traceries and mullions. In the second division of each are six figures delineated on silver, representing the usual emblem of the Trinity, saints, apostles, bishops, virgin and child. In the third division of the one, are six angels with wings expanded, long robes, bushy hair, and extended arms. In the corresponding division of the other, are also six angels with wings expanded, each holding before him a shield, which conceals the rest of the body. The six shields are probably those of as many families who had been benefactors to the college; but the colours of the blazoning not being marked, and several Scottish families having the same, or similar divisions, on their escutcheons, it is difficult to determine to whom they belonged; but there are quarterings and devices upon them which seem to point to the families of Lyndsay, Innes, Lyon, Bruce, Wardlaw, and Wauchope.

CHAPTER XII.

Madras School.

THE foundation-stone of this handsome structure was laid on the 9th April, 1832, and erected from a design by Mr W. Burn, architect, Edinburgh. The main building consists of a spacious quadrangle, surrounded by a cloister, at the sides of which are the doors leading into the class-rooms. The side of the quadrangle nearest the street is two storeys in height, while the other three are only one. In the trustee's room is a well-executed marble bust, by Joseph, of the founder of the school, the late Rev. Andrew Bell, D.D., prebendary of Westminster, and master of Sherburne hospital, in the county of Durham.

Dr Bell was a native of St Andrews, and the son of a hairdresser. He studied in this university; after which, in the year 1774, he went to America in the capacity of a private tutor. How long he remained there does not appear; but on his return home he was admitted, through some private interest, into holy orders in the Church of England, and became minister of the Episcopal chapel in Leith. He remained there till he was persuaded, by his friend and patron, Mr George Dempster of Dunnichen, to go to Madras, in the year 1787, as a private lecturer on natural philosophy, a subject to which he had devoted great attention. Before leaving this country, the university of St Andrews conferred on him the honorary degree of M.D.; and at a subsequent period of his career, that of D.D. On his arrival at Madras, there being a vacancy in one of

the churches, Dr Bell was induced to undertake the interim performance of its duties; and in the end was appointed to it by the East India Company. Soon after, the Company determined upon establishing a Male Orphan Asylum at the said presidency, on the same plan with one which they had previously established at Calcutta. The office of superintendant of this institution was offered to Dr Bell, with an additional salary of £480 per annum; but while he willingly undertook the education of the children, he generously declined to accept the salary. At this school, he invented the monitorial system of tuition, or the mode of conducting a school through the medium of the scholars themselves, on which all his future fame was founded. In the year 1797, he returned home on account of his health; and his system becoming known, it was patronised by the dignitaries of the Church of England, and, in the course of a few years, introduced into all the national schools of England; while he himself, as a reward for his services, was gratified with the two pieces of church preferment already mentioned, which yielded him about £4000 per annum. But this zeal in favour of Dr Bell and his educational system arose, in a great measure, from the jealousy justly entertained of one Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, who claimed to be the originator of the new system, and who was endeavouring, under the patronage of the Dissenters, to engraft upon it theories incompatible with the interests both of church and state.

Besides his large ecclesiastical income, his pension from the East India Company, and his naturally saving habits, Dr Bell received a handsome fortune with his wife, the only surviving daughter of the Rev. Dr Barclay of Haddington—a connexion which proved an unhappy one. The importance which the Doctor attached to his system of education was the one pre-

dominant feeling of his life, to which he did not scruple to sacrifice everything, even his domestic comfort. He himself thus speaks of his own invention :—" It gives to the human mind a far greater compass and power than machinery has given, or can give, to matter."—" It has no parallel in scholastic history."—" The faculty of mutual tuition in the moral world, like the power of steam in the physical world, will endure as long as the nature and constitution of man shall last."¹ In furtherance of this scheme, he originally granted the sum of £120,000 three per cents., for the sole purpose of erecting and endowing a Madras school in his native city of St Andrews. But upon reconsideration, and wishing to scatter his benefits with a more impartial hand, he recalled this grant, and made a new disposition of his property. The above sum he divided into twelve equal parts, and gave one to each of the following six places : London, Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Inverness ; and one also "for the moral and religious improvement of the city of St Andrews, and such other useful and permanent works connected therewith," as the town-council and Madras school trustees of the place might direct, under the sanction of the lord-lieutenant of the county. The remaining five-twelfths, amounting to about £43,000 sterling, he devoted to the construction and endowment of the Madras school of St Andrews. Of this sum, £18,000 have been expended in erecting the fabric, and two dwelling-houses, one for the English, the other for the classical teacher. The rest of the money is employed in upholding and endowing the

¹ A German divine, in a letter to Dr Bell, told him that, next to our blessed Lord, he was the greatest benefactor to the human race ! On which the Doctor observed—" This is somewhat strong language ; but, at the same time, it shows that he justly appreciates the importance of my system."

school. The founder particularly expressed, in his deed of endowment, his wish that the school in this city should be considered as "the head-quarters of the Madras system in Scotland, and exhibit, as far as may be, a perfect model thereof."¹

The trustees for the management of this establishment are, the two ministers of the town church, the provost of the city, and the sheriff of the county. The patrons are, the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Lord-lieutenant of the county, and the Lord-Justice Clerk of Scotland—all for the time-being. At this institution, everything is well taught that is commonly taught at the higher description of day-schools. Great pains are taken to procure the most eminent teachers in their respective departments. The poor are instruct-

¹ Dr Bell gave also his estate of Egmore, in Galloway, (valued at £16,000,) to the town of Cupar-Fife, to be laid out in promoting the same object; £5000 to the General Assembly's Gaelic schools; and £100 per annum in founding eight bursaries in the United College. And when certain annuities cease, which he bequeathed to different persons, there will be £30,000 over and above, which he directed to be applied to the general use of the Madras schools in Scotland. But, amidst all the sums which he thus lavished, he gave little or nothing back to those from whom he received his wealth; namely, *first*, his own wife, who was compelled to prosecute him at law for a separate maintenance; and, *secondly*, the Church of England, to whose religious institutions he bequeathed nothing, and gave only £1200 or £1300 to the unendowed Episcopal communion of his native country, with whose destitute condition he was well acquainted.

I may add here, that, so anxious was the Doctor that he and his educational system might be remembered in all time coming, that he left £1000 to Dr Southey, as one of the best biographical writers of his age, to write his memoirs: he founded an annual lectureship in Edinburgh, for explaining the Madras system of tuition to the public; and he directed that his tracts on education should be "deposited in all the public libraries in Great Britain and Ireland; and kept on sale, for one hundred years, in the booksellers' shops of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin!" I mention these facts from no splenetic motive, or from any wish to detract from Dr Bell's posthumous fame; but only as illustrating the overweening importance which a man is apt to attach to the creation of his own mind, merely because it is so; and still more, as exhibiting the secret workings of human nature, which often prompt to the most illustrious actions.

ed gratuitously, and the highest fees are generally less than what are paid at unendowed schools. The number of young persons of both sexes who attend, is about eight hundred.

I have elsewhere mentioned, that the ground on which the Madras school is constructed, was once the site of a Dominican monastery, whose ruined chapel is still standing, and affords a remarkable contrast to the modern edifice. This circumstance may suggest a reflection with which I shall conclude this last chapter of my work.

The change from a monastery to a modern seminary of education, strikingly exemplifies the mutability of human affairs and human opinions. Our forefathers founded monasteries, from praiseworthy motives, I have no doubt; and we have swept them away, and are founding schools in their place, from motives, I believe, equally praiseworthy. The former were suited to the genius of their age; and, with all their faults, are allowed to have produced many benefits: and the same may be said of the latter. Whether the monks departed from the primary object of their institution, and sunk into sloth and licentiousness, as has been alleged, I am unable to say. This has, at least, never been proved against them to any great extent; and we ought to account them innocent, till they have been proved guilty. Nevertheless, the Reformers of the sixteenth century in this country, when they got the power into their hands, and succeeded in persuading the nation to go along with them, thought themselves justified in seizing the monastic revenues, and applying them to their own use. The very same thing may happen again, as to the funds of the Madras school, and other similarly-endowed seminaries; nay, is perhaps more likely to happen, from an example having been already established as a precedent. A new set of

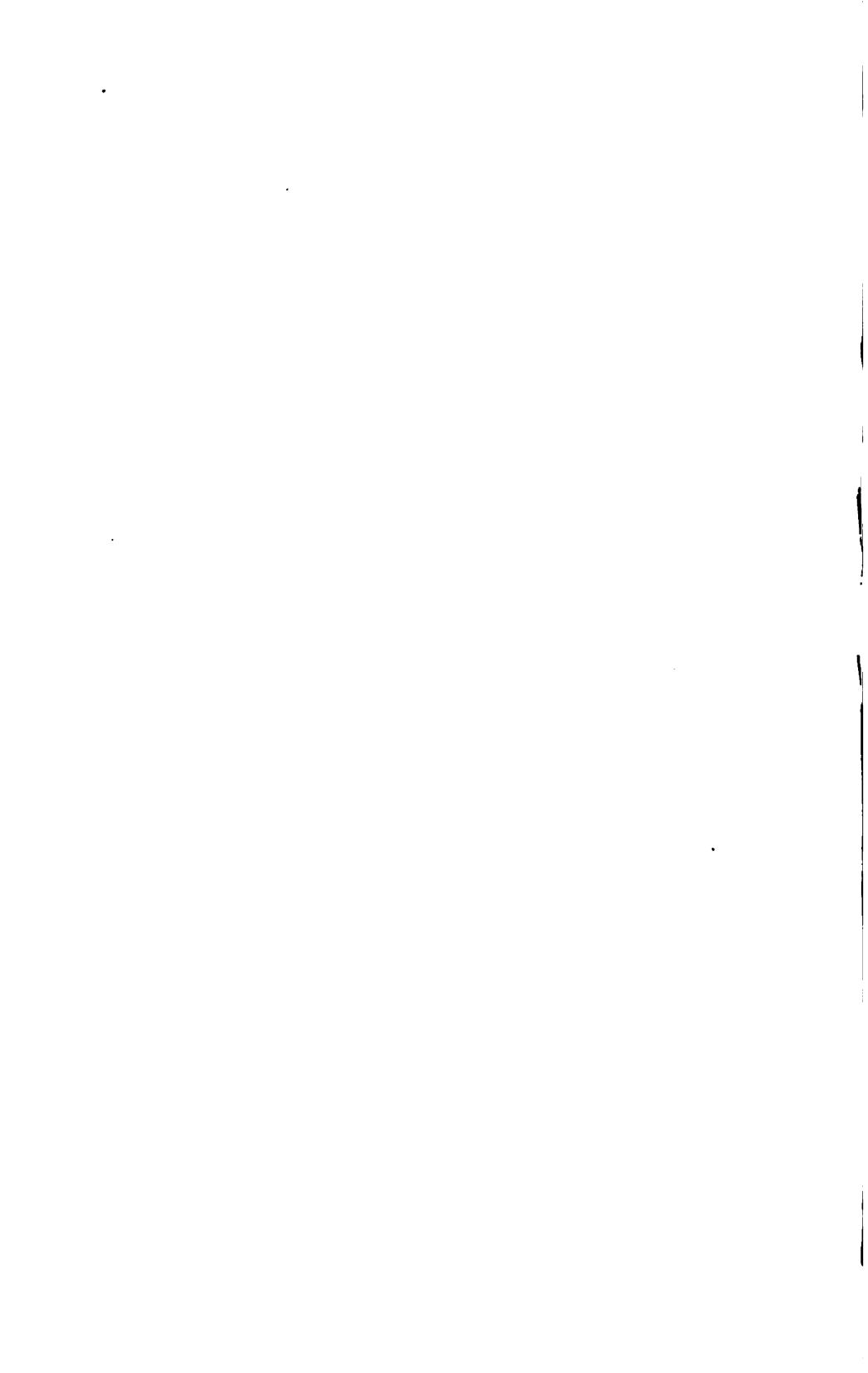
Reformers may spring up, who may see as little use for school learning, as the first Reformers could see for monastic austerities; and may think themselves equally justified in applying the endowments to objects more agreeable to their notions of utility, with very little reference to the will and wishes of such men as the Rev. Dr Bell. Or, for anything I know, there may be a reaction in human affairs; and what was once a monastery, and is now a school, may cease to be a school, and become a monastery again. But the reflection I wish to make is this—The conductors of the schools in question have it in their own power, next to the parents of the children, to avert the calamities I allude to. I say, “next to the parents;” for *they* must ever be their chief directors for good or evil; and unless they give them good advice, and set them a consistent example at home, all the benefit they may receive at the school will be lost.

On the united efforts, then, of the parents and teachers (and, I may surely add, the pastors) of the children, will depend the character of future generations; and that chiefly, in so blending secular with sacred instruction, as to produce in the youthful mind habits of piety, subordination, and obedience. “Wherever,” says a great modern writer, “the prime duty of providing systematic religious instruction for the people is neglected, the greater part become altogether careless of their eternal interests; and the rest are ready to imbibe the rankest fanaticism, or to embrace any superstition that may happen to be promulgated among them.” The schools will become instruments of evil, if the poor be taken out of the station in which providence has placed them, and instructed in things foreign to their habits; or if their minds be forced onwards beyond their natural growth, and enlightened more than their hearts are improved;

or if their understandings be more cultivated than their morals and manners, and domestic virtues. The schools will become instruments of evil, if "pure and undefiled religion" be not ingrafted on secular education; or if it be ingrafted by boyish and girlish monitors and irresponsible teachers; or if done in a general and abstract manner,—for a general and abstract Christianity I hold to be the same as no Christianity at all; or, finally, if it be done by masters of conflicting religious opinions, which can tend only to produce scepticism in the minds of their pupils. The schools will become instruments of evil, if things sacred and profane be put on the same footing; or if the religion taught be confined to the reading of the Bible and Catechisms as a *lesson*; or if such books be used as ordinary spelling-books,—practices which can have no other effect than teaching the young to treat the most sacred mysteries of religion with familiarity and irreverence. The schools will become instruments of evil, if an attempt be made to teach the children philosophically, instead of dogmatically; and to make them judge for themselves on the most important of all subjects, at an age when they are scarcely fit to judge of anything. Lastly, the schools will become instruments of evil, if their public examinations be converted into public exhibitions, and the love of show substituted for the love of knowledge; or if excitement and a thirst for applause be made to supersede the desire of really useful information. But, on the other hand, the schools will become the means of incalculable good, if they are incorporated with orthodox institutions, a simple and practical Catechism, a salutary discipline, and a sound interpretation of holy Scripture; together with daily prayer, conducted by an authorized minister, in a place set apart for the purpose. Thus will the young

be taught to make letters, not the principal thing, as is now too commonly done, but secondary and subservient to religion. They will be taught that they are as much moral and accountable, as they are intellectual beings : that they cannot, therefore, be effective scholars without being good Christians ; and that they cannot be good Christians without being dutiful to their parents, loyal to their sovereign, respectful to their superiors, sober and industrious in their callings, and peaceable members of the community.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

NO. I.

BULLS, CHARTERS, AND STATUTES, RELATING TO THE UNIVERSITY, *alias* THE STUDIUM GENERALE, *alias* THE PEDAGOGIUM OF ST ANDREWS.

THE documents relating to the university of St Andrews and its three colleges, are drawn up at far greater length in their originals than I have ventured to give them. All I have attempted is, to furnish abstracts and abridgments of them; omitting the technicalities and circumlocutions of the legal language in which they are written, but detailing everything which I thought would be generally interesting. In particular, I have inserted all allusions to the locality of St Andrews, the habits, duties, and discipline of the members of the colleges, as well as the names and designations of the witnesses who sign the documents in question. I have also subjoined a few notes when I thought them required. The whole will be found to throw light on the manners and opinions of the times referred to; and I think the general effect will be to satisfy us, that our predecessors, with all their faults, were not only munificent in their academic endowments, for that is not questioned, but that they were far more judicious in their enactments, more strict in their discipline, and took more efficient means to promote sound learning and good morals among the rising generation, than we have been accustomed to give them credit for.

I have only to add here, that the documents are translated chiefly from the volume of "Evidence," collected for the use of the University Commission which sat in the year 1826.

1. *Bull of the Foundation of the University of St Andrews, by Benedict XIII.,¹ A.D. 1413.*

Benedictus, Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. To all the regions of the faithful, who confide in our

¹ Concerning this Benedict, see vol. i. p. 204-206.

vigilance as the universal pastor of the Lord's flock, we extend the shield of apostolical consideration, watching for their good, as far as is permitted us from above; but especially that the fruit of useful knowledge may, under God, continually increase. A petition, lately submitted to us from our well-beloved in Christ, our dear son James, the illustrious King of Scotland, our venerable father, Henry bishop of St Andrews, and our beloved sons, the Prior, Archdeacon, and Chapter of St Andrews, of the order of St Augustine in Scotland, contained—that some time ago, they, with consent of the three Estates of Scotland, animated with the fervour of faith and sincerity, and considering the many difficulties which arise to the clergy of that kingdom, who are anxious to be instructed in theology, in canon and civil law, medicine, and the liberal arts, on account of the dangers by sea and land, the wars, captivities, and obstructions in passing to and from foreign universities, from there being no university (*studium generale*) in their native land, &c.;—and they, having reported to us that the city of St Andrews, in the said kingdom, is a place well adapted for the seat of a university; and the said bishop, prior, archdeacon, and chapter having declared to us, that if a university were founded there, they would liberally grant privileges and immunities to its students, as well as to its servants and dependants:—we, therefore, considering the singular devotion which the said King James, and our dear sons, the inhabitants of his kingdom, are known to bear towards us, and our apostolical see; and considering, also, the peace and quietness which flourish in the said city of St Andrews and its neighbourhood, its abundant supply of victuals, the number of its *hospitii* and other conveniencies for students, which it is known to possess, we are led to hope that this city, which the divine bounty has enriched with so many gifts, may become the fountain of science, and may produce many men distinguished for knowledge and virtue, &c., &c.—Therefore, towards these desirable ends, and moved by the prayers of the foresaid king, bishop, prior, archdeacon, and chapter, we, by our apostolical authority, found and institute a university in the said city of St Andrews, for theology, canon and civil law, arts, medicine, and other lawful faculties. And with a view to promote the public good, which we hope will thence proceed, we ordain that, whenever any persons have completed their faculties in the said university, and are desirous to teach others, they may be examined and obtain the degrees of Master or Doctor; and having done so, they are to be presented to the Bishop of St Andrews, or his vicar-general, or any other fit ecclesiastic whom he, the bishop, may appoint; (or if the see be vacant, to the vicar-general of the chapter of the metropolitan church,) who shall again

diligently examine the said Masters and Doctors, in science, eloquence, manner of reading, and other things requisite for obtaining a degree in the above faculties; which having done faithfully and honestly, he shall admit and license those who are found fit, but shall reject such as are otherwise. And they who have graduated and been admitted, may have free permission granted them to teach in this and other *studi* of a like kind. And we also ordain, by our foresaid authority, that the rector of the university be a graduate in one of the above faculties, and be in holy orders; and, moreover, that all the students of the college may have full power to make their own wills; and we hereby forbid either their ordinaries or officials from exacting anything from them or their heirs, on the plea of "testament;" decreeing that all such exactions shall be null and void, by whomsoever, or by whatever authority, they may be made.

Let no man infringe this our ordinance and decree, or rashly oppose the same. If he do, let him know that he will incur the vengeance of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles, St Peter and St Paul. Dated Paniscola, 5 kal. Sept., the 19th year of our Pontificate.

2. *Bull of the Concession of Privileges to the Members of the University of St Andrews, by Benedict XIII., A.D. 1413.*

Benedictus, episcopus, &c. Since we perceive, from due consideration, that by the study of letters (with the help of Him from whom come down all good gifts) men become erudite in knowledge, and that the barbarous are civilized and advanced to perfection, and the Catholic faith strengthened, we not only honour with apostolical privileges the places where such studies are pursued, but we also crown with favours the persons who study in them. This day, at the instance of our dearly beloved in Christ, James the illustrious king of Scotland, and of our venerable brother Henry bishop of St Andrews, the Prior, &c., &c., we grant, by our apostolical authority, to the doctors, masters, licentiates, bachelors, and scholars, that though holding benefices in the kingdom of Scotland, they may teach or study any lawful faculty in the University of St Andrews; and, whether regular or secular, may freely and fully receive the revenues of their ecclesiastical benefices, the same as if they personally resided upon them; and, in cases where they are forbidden generally to leave their benefices by any apostolical constitutions, or by any provincial statutes of the churches or monasteries to which they belong, (and to the observance of which they are bound by oath,) they are nevertheless not to be compelled to the observance of such

constitutions and statutes, unless they make express mention of the duration of the time of their residence ; provided, however, that the said benefices be not deprived of their accustomed duties, and that in places where there is cure of souls, good and sufficient vicars be appointed to the same.

Let no one infringe this, &c.

Dated as in the preceding.

3. *Executory Bull of the foregoing Concession by Benedict XIII.,*
A.D. 1413.

This bull is almost, word for word, the same as the last, and dated on the same day ; only it finishes by committing the execution of it to the Abbot of Arbroath, the Archdeacon of Galloway, and the Provost of the secular collegiate church of St Mary, (de rupe,) in St Andrews.

4. *Bull of the Confirmation of Privileges to the University of St Andrews, by Benedict XIII.,* A.D. 1413.

Benedictus, episcopus, &c. We gladly bestow the force of the apostolic protection to things which are done for the benefit of literature. At the instance of our beloved son James king of Scotland, of our illustrious and venerable brother Henry bishop of St Andrews, and of our dear sons the prior, &c., we have thought good to give the sanction of our apostolic confirmation to the following charter of the Bishop and Prior of St Andrews :

“ Henry, by divine permission bishop of St Andrews, special legate of our lord the Pope and of the apostolic see, and invested with full power through the kingdom of Scotland, to the venerable the doctors, masters, bachelors, and scholars, dwelling in our city of St Andrews, salutem benedictione divina. When we consider how much benefit will arise from the study of literature,” &c. He then goes on to mention the benefits of learning, and sums up with instituting the new university. He next adverts to the relation which he wishes to subsist between the members of the university and the inhabitants of the city ; “ and, if any difference arise between the rector of the university and the alderman or bailies of the town, as to the punishment of delinquents, we desire the determination thereof to be referred to us and our successors, saving always the liberties and privileges of the lord prior, the chapter, the Archdeacon of St Andrews, and their dependants within the city.” The members of the university are to be exempt from all taxes ; and the magistrates are to take an oath that they will uphold their rights

and privileges. The following are a few of the privileges bestowed by the bishop on the members of the university:—"That they have full power of buying and selling (in our city and throughout our regality) all necessary things, and especially things which relate to food and clothing, free from the duty of customs, and without asking permission from any one ;" and he extends the like exemption to all persons dependent on them, esquire-beadles (scutiferi,) servants, transcribers, stationers, and parchment-makers, and their wives, children, and domestics. "We enact, that beneficed men in our diocese who study in our university, shall not be compelled to reside on their benefices ; so long, however, only as they shall cause their duties to be properly performed in their absence, in which case they shall draw the fruits of their benefices."—"In testimony of all which, we have commanded these presents to be signed and published, and our seal, as well as that of the chapter, to be appended thereto." "And we, James, [Haldenstone,] by divine permission Prior of St Andrews, together with the Archdeacons of St Andrews and Lothian, duly assembled, give our assent and consent to the institution of the said university, and to the foregoing privileges conferred upon it ; (which privileges are here recapitulated ;) and, in order that the assize of bread and beer may be strictly observed in our baronies within the city, we command (for ourselves and our successors) that all delinquents be made known to the rector of the university, and be severely punished, on their delinquency being proved ; and, should there be any dispute between the rector and the civil rulers in regard to such punishment, let the dispute be referred to us and our successors ; and, should we find the said civil rulers in the wrong, we will send them to the rector to be punished.¹ In testimony of which, the common seal of our chapter is appended.

"Given and done at St Andrews, in the chapter-house of our cathedral church, 27th February, A.D. 1411, according to the computation of the Scots Church, in the presence of the reverend father Thomas de Bucill archdeacon of Galloway, and auditor of pleas in the holy apostolical palace ; the venerable John de Morton provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, in the diocese of Glasgow ; Columba de Dunbar deacon of the collegiate church of Dunbar, doctor of decrees ; Patrick de Houston canon of the churches of Glasgow and Brechin, and bachelor of both laws ; John de Loudon perpetual vicar of the church of Kilpatrick, in the diocese of Glasgow ; Symon de Liston, and Richard de Crag, notaries public."

¹ When Bishop Turnbull afterwards founded the University of Glasgow, he constituted it in the same manner, and almost in the same words as these.

The pope subjoins to the above charters his usual anathema against all who shall presume to contravene the same ; and dates at Paniscola, August 1413.

5. *Bull of the Conservation of the University of St Andrews, by Benedict XIII., A.D. 1413.*

This bull is addressed to the Bishop of Brechin and the Archdeacons of St Andrews and Glasgow, entrusting to them the care and inspection of the university ; commanding them to defend its liberties ; to call in, if necessary, the aid of the secular authority ; and to punish, by ecclesiastical censure, all who should obstruct the same.

6. *Bull of the Relaxation of an Oath in favour of the Members of the University, by Benedict XIII., A.D. 1413.*

Benedictus, &c. " We have this day decreed, by our apostolical authority, at the pressing instance of our dearly beloved in Christ, James the illustrious king of Scots, and of our venerable brother Henry bishop of St Andrews, and of our beloved sons the prior, &c." The bull then goes on to state what had been done in respect to the foundation of the university. " But it having been submitted to us, that certain persons in the kingdom of Scotland are desirous of becoming proficient in studies which are pursued in countries infected with schism, with a view to their taking degrees of licentiate and bachelor in the same, &c. : We, therefore, by these presents, grant to the said persons that they may pursue their studies in the university of St Andrews, and be promoted to degrees in the same, according to the ordinances of the council of Vienna, notwithstanding of any decree or obligation to the contrary, promulgated by us or our predecessors, or of any statute of the said university, though confirmed by oath, which oath and obligation, we, of our special grace, hereby relax in their favour. Therefore, let no man infringe this our decree of concession and relaxation," &c.

7. *Charter of Donation of Tenement and Annual-Rent, from Robert of Montrose to the College of Theology and the Arts, where the new College is now situated, A.D. 1418.*

" To all who may see or hear of this charter. Robert of Montrose honorary chaplain of the apostolic see, and secular canon of the royal chapel near the monastery of St Andrews, [St Mary's de rupe,] and rector of the church of Qwilt, [Cults,] salutem in Do-

mine sempiternam. Be it known that I, (moved by divine love, and having obtained the consent of the venerable father in Christ, Henry, by divine permission bishop of St Andrews,) have granted to Almighty God, and his mother the blessed Virgin Mary, and especially to St John the Evangelist, and all saints, a certain tenement, with its pertinencies, situated, &c., for founding a certain college of theology and the arts, to the honour of Almighty God, &c.; and in conformity with the practice of the burghesses of Scotland, I have granted seisin and hereditary possession of the said tenements and annual-rents to the said college, by means of earth and stone, and money, and an image of St John the Evangelist, in favour of Magister Lawrence of Lindores, whom I hereby appoint, during his life, master of the said college; and, failing him, I grant the appointment of his successor to the theological faculty; which failing, to the faculty of arts; which failing, to the city of St Andrews; provided that the master of the said college for the time, shall engage to support one or more chaplains for celebrating *obits*, at least three times a-week, for my soul, and the souls of my predecessors and successors; and, moreover, cause to be sung *Salve Regina* every Sunday for ever," &c. In testimony of which, he appends his own seal, and that of the city of St Andrews, in presence of Domini Thomas Seves and Richard de Cornalle, presbyters of St Andrews, and archdeacons of Lothian; John Bower provost of the said city; Laurence de Narne, Robert Letatar, William Andrew, bailies; John Lamby de Lethyn, Robert de Bittellar, William de Kynard, Thomas Archibald, John de Frislan, and Andrew Brobner, citizens; and many others.

8. *Grant of the Foundation or Tenement of the Pedagogium, by Henry [Wardlaw] bishop of St Andrews, to the Dean and Faculty of Arts, A.D. 1430.*

"To all who may see or hear of this charter, Henry, by the grace of God and of the apostolic see, bishop of St Andrews, salutem in omnium Salvatore. Be it known to all men, that we have granted, in pure and perpetual charity, in honour of Almighty God, and the blessed Virgin, of St John the Evangelist, and all the saints, and for the salvation of our soul, as well as the souls of our predecessors and successors, and of all the faithful departed—to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, to the faculty itself, and the members of the same, the students and regents who may for the time be resident in St Andrews, a certain tenement situated on the south side of the South Street, &c.; to the end that the masters and regents of the said Faculty of Arts may therein hold, if need be, their grammati-

cal schools, or that may serve as halls and chambers of the students, or for the construction and repair of the same, according to the judgment of the said dean of faculty, or the greater part of the members.”—“We will, moreover, that the dean of faculty, regents, and masters, shall celebrate, in their ordinary caps and *kucis*, and in white surplices, the anniversary of our death in the chapel, with two wax-tapers burning on a covered table, a *Placebo* and *Dirige* on the eve of the day of our death, and the next day, the mass of the *Requiem cum nota*.—In testimony of which our true seal is appended to this charter at St Andrews, 9th April 1430.”

9. *Confirmation of the Charter of the University by James I.,*
A.D. 1432.

“James, by the grace of God, to all good men in his kingdom, clergy, and laity, salutem.—Know that we have seen and examined certain letters of the reverend father in Christ, Henry bishop of St Andrews, and of the prior, chapter, and archdeacon of the same, regarding the rights and immunities of the doctors, masters, bachelors, and scholars, dwelling in the city of St Andrews, &c; which letters are not erased, but are pure and entire, and free from fraud and suspicion, and are in this form—[Here follows a copy of the bishop’s and prior’s charter, see No. 4. ;]—which letters, together with the privileges contained therein, we ratify in behalf of ourselves and successors, &c. In testimony whereof, we have commanded our great seal to be affixed to this our confirmation, at Perth, 20th March 1432, in presence of the reverend father in Christ, Henry bishop of St Andrews; Walter earl of Atholl, our uncle; Archibald earl of Douglas, our nephew; Alexander earl of Mar, our cousin; Master Lawrence of Lindores, rector of the university; James prior of St Andrews; Master William de Foulis, provost of Bothwell, our privy seal; John Forster, chamberlain; Walter de Ogilvy, our magister hospitii; Master Robert Lang, provost of our chapel of St Andrews; Thomas Arthur, provost of St Andrews; and many others.”

10. *Confirmation of the Privileges of the University by*
King James I., A.D. 1432.

In this document, the king expresses his great desire to promote the interests of literature, and takes under his special protection, and exempts from all taxes and personal burdens, the rectors, deans, procurators, regents, masters, beadles, writers, stationers, and others belonging to the university. Dated and signed as before.

11. *Charter of Annual-Rent to the Faculty of Arts (or Pedagogium,) by David lord Lindsay of Byres, A.D. 1435.*

"To all who may see or hear of this indented charter, David Lindsay de Byres, eternam in Domino salutem." In this charter, Lindsay grants to one John Rynde and his wife a certain tenement in St Andrews, on the condition of their paying annually, to himself and his heirs, 9 *marks*; to the pedagogium, 14 *solidi*; to the monastery of St Andrews, 10 *denarii*; and to the bishop, *firmam burgalem*; instead of any service or burden which may be demanded for said tenement. "Dated at St Andrews, 13th April, 1435, in presence of Walter Heryot; Dominus Abtmulty, vicar of Seres; John Lyall; and the presbyters, Thomas Grundyston, Adam Swine, Maurice Cowquhan, Alexander Congeltonne, and Richard Wallace, with divers others."

12. *Agreement entered into by Bishop James Kennedy, on the part of the Members of the University, and the Citizens of St Andrews, A.D. 1444.*¹

"In nomine Dei, Amen. Be it known to all, by this public instrument, that in the year of our Lord 1444, the seventh Indiction, the 6th day of May, the fourteenth year of the pontificate of Eugenius IV., before the reverend father in Christ, James, by the favour of God and the apostolic see bishop of St Andrews, in the presence of my notary-public and the subscribing witnesses, Mr Walter Stewart, archdeacon of Dumblane, and rector of the university of St Andrews, on the part of himself and the members of the university, on the one side; and on the other, the honourable Andrew Ramsay, provost of the city, for himself and fellow-citizens. *First*, The members of the university shall have the liberty of buying and selling things relating to food and clothes, so long as they use it not for the sake of traffic. *Item*, The citizens shall defend the said university, its members, and other privileged individuals, against

¹ It is remarkable, that the very year before this, application had been made to "the citizens and council of the city of Cologne, touching a dispute which had happened between the Rector of the university of St Andrews and the provost and bailies thereof, as to jurisdiction over the citizens." The answer given is, that "the rector has no right over the citizens, either in civil or criminal matters; but if any member of the university had ought to allege against any of the citizens, he must prosecute before a civil judge."—See MS. Catalogue of Charters, p. 202. It was probably in consequence of this dispute that the above agreement was entered into.

all who may seek to hurt them in their persons, goods, and affairs. *Item*, The university shall give the citizens aid and assistance in their concerns. *Item*, The esquire-beadles, domestic servants, servitors, writers, stationers, parchment-makers, and their wives, children, and female attendants, shall enjoy the same privileges with the members of the university. *Item*, The houses and *hospitii* of the city may be rented to the members of the university, as is contained in the bulls of the privileges of the university. *Item*, As to the assize of bread and beer, and other articles of food, it is decreed, that if any citizen shall be found trespassing, the rector of the university shall complain to the provost or bailies, who shall duly punish the transgressor on the following Friday, if it be a day for holding a guild court; if not, on the next court day; but so that the punishment be not delayed more than eight days beyond the lodging of the complaint: and if it be so delayed, the culprit may be punished by the rector, but according to the laws of the burgesses. And when any change is made in the weight or measure of bread by the bailies of the city, let such be reported to the rector of the university. *Item*, If there arise any civil action between the members of the university and their dependants, on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the town, on the other, and the said members and their dependants have complained to the rector, then the rector shall send a beadle along with the complainants to the bailies, who shall immediately summon before them the person against whom the complaint is lodged; and if he acknowledge the charge to be just, he shall be obliged, if it be a debt, and if the amount do not exceed forty *solidi*, to pay the same within eight days; but if it exceed that sum, a longer time may be allowed, according to circumstances: but so that the term of payment extend not beyond *twenty* days at farthest. But if the debtor plead utter inability to pay, the bailie shall oblige him to declare *odardum* within eight days after, according to the laws of the kingdom. If he deny the debt, the plaintiff may cite him before the rector, who shall investigate the affair, and do justice accordingly. And in case the sufferer shall think himself aggrieved, he may appeal to the Lord Bishop of St Andrews or to his commissary, or if the see be vacant, to his vicar-general. And if the said bishop or his commissary, &c., find that the rector has acted justly, and that the sufferer has no good ground of complaint, he shall be remitted to the rector, who shall carry into effect his own sentence." The document then goes on to advert to other contingencies; adding, that if any doubt should arise as to the meaning of the present agreement, the Bishop of St Andrews is to be appealed to as a common umpire, whose decision shall settle the question. The

witnesses are John de Shevez, doctor of decrees, official-general of St Andrews; John Legat, canon of Glasgow and licentiate of decrees, archdeacon of St Andrews; Hugh Kennedy, provost of the royal chapel of St Andrews; Henry de Wardlaw, Alexander de Home, Walter Stewart, John Scrymgeour, knights; Andrew Gray de Fowlis, Gilbert Kennedy, esquires; Andrew Maurice, Thomas de Carmichael, and David Bell, public notaries; with divers others.

13. *Confirmation of the Privileges of the University by King James II., A.D. 1444.*

This charter runs much in the same style with the two foregoing ones of James I., (Nos. 9 and 10,) and is dated at Stirling, the 5th February, but without any witnesses.

14. *Confirmation of the same by William Shevez archbishop of St Andrews, A.D. 1479.*

“William, by the favour of God and the apostolic see, archbishop of St Andrews, to all the sons of holy mother church to whom these presents may come, salutem, &c.” After adverting to the privileges which he secures to the members of his “beloved alma mater,” he proceeds:—“Therefore we command you, the deans of our diocese of Fyff, Fothryff, Angus, Gowry, the Mearns, Linlithgow, Haddington, and the Mers, and other collectors of whatever taxes are levied within our diocese, that you inviolably uphold and maintain the privileges of our most devoted daughter the university of St Andrews, and, as far as in you lies, cause them to be defended; and not only that you do not distrain the undermentioned persons, members of said university, and residing in the same, for the payment of any tax whatever, but that you wholly abstain from molesting them on that account, notwithstanding of any letters or mandates of ours to the contrary, viz., The honourable the masters and doctors, Robert Boswell of Oichterderay, rector of the university; three canons of the collegiate church of St Salvator; David Kay, rector of Edny; William Blackader, rector of Duns; David Bell, rector of Dunloppy; John Dryburgh, vicar of Carnbe; Robert Levinox, vicar of Markinch; John Thomson, rector of Inneraritie; John de Kirkaldy, vicar of Newbyrn; Robert Pantre, rector of Methell; John de Fordyss, vicar of Garwath; Alexander Young, rector of Kirkforther; and David Seton, vicar of Cupar. In testimony of all which, we have caused our round seal to be affixed, at Edinburgh, 2d June, 1479, the first year of our consecration.”

After this, there follows a confirmation of the privileges of the university by James IV., dated 20th February, 1512, without witnesses. This is the last document in the Latin language, the subsequent ones being in the Anglo-Scotch of the period. There is another similar confirmation by James V., in 1522, without witnesses; and a second by the same king, in 1525, in which we find the following twenty-four persons enumerated as then members of the university, and entitled, on that account, to be exempted from the payment of taxes :—"Maister George Lokart, rector of the university; Maister Mertayne Balfour, vicar of Monymeil, den of faculte of art of the said universite; Maister Hew Spens, provost of Sanct Salvatouris college, with twa channonis of the sammyne; Maister Jhone Mair, thesawrer of our chapell rial of Striveling; Mr Alane Meldrum, vicar of Leuchars; Den Alexander Zoung, channone of Sanctandrois, principale of Sanct Leonardis college, vicar of Dow; Maister James Symson, persone of Kirkforther, officiall principall of Sanctandrois; Maister Robert Lawsons, vicar of Eglisgrig, subscribe of the officiall; Maister George Ferne, chantour of Brechin; Maister Patrik Hepburne, persone of Quhitsone; Maister Jhone Weddell, persone of Flisk; Maister Adam Hepburne, persone of Gogar; Maister James Watson, persone of Ellen; Maister Michell Narne, vicar of Forgund; Den Thomas Prestone, vicar of Sanctandrois; and Maister Alexander Balfour, vicar of Kilmany; studentis of the said universitie, and continuall residentis in the sammyne; and mony of them in officiz of rectorie and denrye; Maister William Lambe, persone of Conveth; Den David Dickson, prior of Lochleven; Maister Jhone Maitland, subden of Ross; Maister Robert Reid, subden of Murray; Maister Andro Aitoun, persone of Spott; and Maister William Knollis, persone of Kinnettis."

There are four similar confirmations and exemptions by James V., in the year 1532, and one in 1535. There is a like document by James VI., in 1579; and I may here add, that there is another by the same king in 1607; one by Charles I., in 1633; one by Charles II., in 1672; and one by James VII., in 1685. Since the union of the two countries, the above privileges have been withdrawn. But to return.

In the year 1563, a petition was presented to Queen Mary and the Lords of the Articles, "in the name of all that within this realm ar desyrous that learning and letteris floreis," stating that the patrimony of some of the foundations in the colleges, particularly of St Andrews, was *wasted*, and that several sciences, especially those which were most necessary, the tongues and humanity, were very imperfectly taught in them, to the great detriment of the

whole lieges, their children, and posterity; and praying that measures be taken to remedy these evils. In consequence of this, parliament appointed a committee to visit the colleges, and to report their opinion of the same; but nothing appears to have been done in the business. The *Reformers* were then otherwise engaged.

In 1579, it was complained that the rents and bursaries of the university were "misused by particular persons to their own advantage, without respect to the diligent upbringing of the youth in virtue and good letters, little regarding the commonwealth of this realm, and posterity to come; and that the form of teaching was, for the most part, unprofitable; whereby the youth tynt [lost] their time, and parents frustrate of their expectation;" and also, that there was "great corruption and abuse in receiving of the bursaries in every faculty, rather upon favour and solicitation than for virtue and in support of poverty." On these accounts, the king commands certain "noble, worshipful, and discreet" persons (of whom George Buchanan was one) to inquire into these abuses, with a view to their reformation. This was done accordingly; and various corrections and alterations were recommended, one of which was, that St Mary's college should, for the future, be exclusively appropriated to the study of theology. These alterations being approved, the execution of them was entrusted to P. Adamson, titular archbishop of St Andrews; Earl Lennox; Lord Darnley; R. Stewart, the prior of St Andrews; Earl Rothes; Lord Leslie; Lord Lindsay of the Byres; Erskine of Dun; John Wynram, prior of Portmoak; and Mr James Haliburton, provost of Dundee.

But, alas for reformation! In 1588, everything had got into confusion again in all the three colleges, as I have shown in vol. i. p. 410-412. In another visitation of 1597, matters were found to be still worse, (vol. i. p. 431-433,) under the administration of Andrew Melville.

In 1621, it was ascertained that the changes recommended in 1579 had produced such uncertainty, that "the greater part of the professors are negligent, making no profession nor teaching, as not knowing whereunto they shall betake themselves; neither can their visitations, which are made for reformation of disorders, take any profitable effect, in respect of the alterations before-mentioned; and that it seemeth most equitable that *the wills of the first founders should take effect*, and be maintained, except where the same is repugnant to the true religion presently professed within this realm." In consequence of this, things were restored to their former footing, as far as was compatible with the change of religion; except only that St Mary's still continued exclusively a college for divinity, as had been settled in 1579.

In March, 1625, at a convention held in the church of St Leonard, it was resolved, that, in order to avoid tumult, the original method of choosing a rector should be adopted, namely, that all members of the university, as well the taught as the teachers, should have a vote in the election of four intrants, which intrants should choose the rector. The next day, accordingly, Archbishop Spotswood being present, the intrants were nominated, but were unable to proceed to business, on account of a tumult got up by some who were offended at the right of suffrage being extended to the whole university. The archbishop dissolved the convention, and held another the following day, which proved equally tumultuous. He then adjourned to his own palace in the abbey, where, the disaffected party being excluded, the intrants chose for their rector, Dr Peter Bruce principal of St Leonard's college. In the July following, the archbishop, with the Bishops of Brechin and Dunkeld, Lord Stormont, and Dr Philp minister of Arbroath, met under a mandate from the king, to inquire into, and put an end to, the disorders which had arisen in the choice of a rector. They came to the resolution, that no one should hold this office in future except one of the head-masters of the three colleges, and that he should hold the office for one year only, unless there were some very urgent reason for his retaining it longer.

In the year 1642, it was enacted, "that no regents of philosophy, but the principals of the colleges, and the public professors only, shall be capable of holding the office of rectorate." This, though nullified by the Recissory act of 1661, has yet for many years been acted on; and is interpreted to include only the two Principals of the colleges, the Professor of Biblical Criticism, and the Professor of Church History.

After this, nothing of general interest occurs till the year 1649. Four years before, Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet had founded a professorship of Humanity in St Leonard's college. This, it seems, had the effect of drawing away the youth who had been educated at the grammar-school of St Andrews, which was at that time under the charge of a Mr Patrick Robertson. He, in consequence, sends in a curious complaint to the university commission, which sat in the above year, couched in the following terms:—"I, Mr P. Robertson, master of the grammar-school of this city, having groaned these many years bypast, under the heavy pressures of palpable wrong received by that school of humanity erected by *Scotstarvet* in *Leonard's college*, am now at last forced, out of great grief, to supplicate your worships of the visitation, that you would take to your serious consideration whether it be *ex æquo et bono*, that a school of so high profession as humanity (as they term

it) should bow so low as to profess and teach, contrarie to promise at the first institution thereof, not only all the parts of grammar, but also the very first rudiments and elements, as is reported ; and not only intercepting and preoccupying scholars minded for the grammar-school of St Andrews, but also, by the alluring baits of greater liberty and impunity, daily withdrawing from my school several very considerable young ones, and these not of a small number. Thus hoping your honourable worships will have a care that so manifest injuries go not away without due censure, I refer the whole matter to your wise consideration ; and rests your worships' most humble orator, *sic subr.* PATRICK ROBERTSON." Mr Robertson's petition was complied with : and the Professor of Humanity was expressly forbidden to teach the rudiments of grammar.

The colleges in St Andrews had been in the practice, down to 1695, of dividing the students into classes, according to the literary merits of those who composed them. This they had always found to be beneficial ; but they now express their regret at being obliged to abandon the practice, because the other Scottish universities refused to concur with them in that arrangement.

In the same year, the professors complain that the youth who had been educated at private schools " do either stay away from college, or after they come, soon remove, presuming upon their own private studies, or the help of country pedants who adventure to instruct them in some books of their own choice, which, in a short time, may bring schools into contempt, and multiply dunces under the name of scholars." And therefore they " humbly supplicate that all teaching of Greek in grammar-schools may be strictly prohibited ; because there are a number of silly men, who, having hardly a smatter of Greek themselves, do take upon them to teach others, to the great disadvantage of many good spirits."

There were three regulations made the same year for the university which may deserve notice. *First*, The hebdomadary was obliged to sleep within the walls of his college, and see that the students were out of bed *by five o'clock in the morning*, and at their books soon after ; and that they were in their chambers a little after eight o'clock at night. These chambers were *perlustrated* or visited every morning and evening by the regents. *Second*, The session lasted from the *1st November till the middle of July*, unless the yearly rent fell off, which obliged them to break up somewhat earlier. During that time, the regents taught all " except the magistrands, (or fourth-year students,) whom they taught only as long as they could get them kept." *Third*, " All law and prudence, and gratitude require that we make *honourable mention of our founders and benefactors* ; and therefore we think that, in this

university, our archbeddell should, at the close of the action, when the laureation is ended, not only solemnly publish, and read off a paper or table, all the founders' names, our patrons and benefactors, our donors' names and their donations, in due order and particulars, but also, that our *orator academicus* in his oration, do, with all grateful resentment, make the most honourable remembrance of them all in the general that can be expressed."

This last regulation is forgotten or disregarded; but seems peculiarly deserving of adoption for reasons sufficiently obvious. No doubt, there are certain "popish" or "prelatic" benefactors whose names might awaken reminiscences painful to the ears of some of the audience; but they should remember that the best men have had their faults, or, if they will, that the worst men are not without their redeeming qualities: and hence, while they compassionate them for what they deem to have been their errors, they should not the less commemorate the bounty of which they are daily reaping the benefit.

No. II.

BULLS, CHARTERS, AND STATUTES RELATING TO ST SALVATOR'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS.

1. *Bull of Pius II. confirming the Foundation of St Salvator's College, by James Kennedy bishop of St Andrews, A.D. 1458.*

"PIUS, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Among the felicities which mortal man may obtain in this fleeting life from the gift of God, it is not to be esteemed the least, that by diligent study, he may acquire the pearl of science, which furnishes the means of living well and happily, and, by its own inherent value, enlightens the ignorant, elevates the depressed, makes the foolish become wise, and likens them even to God. And the apostolical see, the provident administrator of temporal as well as spiritual things, in order that men may be the more easily led to the pinnacle of human excellence, encourages them and assists them; and, through its prelates, makes trial of things which are for their advantage, in order that they may be made firm and durable; and then adds thereto the strength of the apostolical bulwark.

"Our venerable brother, James bishop of St Andrews, laid before Nicholas V. our predecessor of happy memory, that he, the said

bishop, had founded and erected, to the praise of God and the exaltation of the Catholic faith, a certain college for philosophy and the arts, in the University of St Andrews, (*studii Sancti Andree*) under the name, and in honour of the holy Saviour, (*Sancti Salvatoris*), for thirteen persons; namely," &c. &c. "But as it has been represented to us that the said bishop, duly considering that scarcely anything can be made so clear, but that it is liable to be called in question; and that some articles in the *first* foundation-charter needed explanation, and others seemed superfluous, and that some important matters had been omitted; therefore the bishop, desiring to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was wrong, and to remove all ambiguity; and having humbly entreated that we would vouchsafe to carry into effect the said premises, we therefore, by our apostolical authority, confirm and approve, by these presents, the alterations which the bishop has proposed in this his renewed or *second* foundation; the tenor whereof is as follows:

"To all the sons of holy mother church who shall see or hear these presents, James, by the favour of God and of the apostolical see bishop of St Andrews, wishes health from the Saviour of the human race, and the giver of all good things. Seeing we have founded, in our city of St Andrews, a college for theology and the arts, for divine worship and scholastic exercises, with a view to the glory of Almighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and Mary his most glorious mother, and our advocate, and of all the heavenly host; and for the strengthening of the orthodox faith, the increase of the Christian religion, and removing the pestiferous schisms of heretics," &c. The charter proceeds to appoint thirteen persons, being the number of the apostles (*ad instar apostolici numeri*) of whom the first, or provost, shall be a master in theology, and have the rectorial tithes of the parish of Culter for his support; the second, a licentiate in theology, who should have the rectorial tithes of Kemback; and the third, a bachelor in theology, who should have the rectorial tithes of Denino. Besides these, there were four masters of art, and six poor clerks, (*pauperes clerici*), for whose support the tithes of the parish of Kilmany¹ are appropriated. Vicars, with competent salaries, are to be appointed to the above parishes by the college. The charter then goes on to describe the duties of the said provost, licentiate, &c., and to lay

¹ Owing to the depreciation of the old valuations of property, and the augmentation of stipends to parish ministers, (see p. 179,) Kilmany is the only parish, of all those mentioned in this charter, which now yields any return to the United College of St Salvator and St Leonard. It was, in fact, owing to this failure of funds, on the part of St Salvator's, which led to the union of the two colleges in 1747.

down regulations for the government of the college, among which are the following : The provost to lecture on theology once a-week, in the college ; the licentiate thrice ; and the bachelor every lawful day ; the provost to preach the word of God to the people four times in the year, and the licentiate six times. The inferior officers of the college to be kept punctually at their duties by the provost ; and the latter, if he be absent from the college more than fifteen days, without the consent of the Archdeacon of St Andrews and the rector of the university, shall by them be deprived of his office. The provost shall be succeeded in his office by the licentiate ; the licentiate by the bachelor ; and the bachelor by the best qualified of the four masters of arts already mentioned. No one belonging to the college shall be absent more than thirty-one days in the year, except in times of vacation, which is granted chiefly for collecting tithes ; namely, from St Egidius' (St Giles,) day, till the feast of St Remigius, (i. e. from 1st September till 1st October.) " We will, moreover, that on every Sunday and holyday, the college chaplains shall solemnly celebrate matins, vespers, and the *complin*, together with the mass, *in cantu* ; so that not only the fruits of knowledge may increase, but that divine worship also may flourish. We ordain, also, that all belonging to the college shall live reputably, as becomes ecclesiastics, 'ita quod non habeant publicas concubinas ;' or be night-walkers, or thieves, or criminals of any kind. And should any be so, (which God forbid !) let him be corrected by his superior ; and, if incorrigible, let him be deprived, and another put in his room. We farther declare, that the said college, and the thirteen persons residing therein, as also their servants and dependants, shall be perpetually exempted from all taxes, duties, and other imposts, ordinary and extraordinary, by whatever authority imposed, or to be imposed. It is our desire also, that the above thirteen persons shall eat and sleep within the walls of the college ; and that the gates be shut in winter at eight o'clock, and in summer at ten o'clock at night, and opened at four in the morning in summer, and at five in winter ; the keys to be in the custody of the provost. The college, both as to its chapel and other buildings, shall be supported out of its common funds ; and all the expenses connected therewith shall be defrayed from the same source."—" Seeing we have founded certain perpetual chaplaincies in our college, and, with the help of God, intend founding more, and lest, through the lapse of time, or the cupidity or negligence of those concerned, it may happen that our intentions may be thwarted, as has happened before in like cases, we will and command that the presentation to the said chaplaincies be vested in Gilbert lord Kennedy, our brother-german, and his heirs male ; whom failing,

in Gilbert Kennedy of Kirkmichale, and his heirs male ; whom failing, in John Kennedy of Blarquhar, and his heirs male ; all of whom failing, (which God forbid !) in the true and legitimate heirs generally of Lord Kennedy aforesaid ; but the admission to the said chaplaincies shall pertain to the provost of the college only. But we desire that none be admitted to the office except priests, (sacerdotes,) duly qualified as well in morals as in learning, and especially instructed in chanting ; and whom we desire to be present daily at matins and vespers, and at other canonical hours, and in the celebration of our masses and exequies, in white surplices, according to the statutes of the college ; and to be bound over to this, if need be, by the provost, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censure. But, seeing we are forbid by the sacred canons not to connive at evil in ourselves, and considering that both we and our successors are bound to uphold the deeds of our predecessors, which were undertaken for the honour of God, and the salvation of souls ; We require and exhort, in the bowels of Jesus Christ our Saviour, who is the patron of the college, that there be appointed pastors and defenders, and special conservators of the said college, as well of its members as of its benefices and goods, lest ravenous wolves seize thereupon. In testimony of which we have commanded this our declaration and new foundation, to be executed and ratified by the application of our seal. Dated at St Andrews, in our episcopal castle, 4th April, 1458, in the presence of Thomas Lauderdale, our chief official ; John Balfour canon of Aberdeen ; and John Heras secretary." The pope subjoins the usual denunciation against those who infringe the foregoing charter and confirmation ; and dates at Rome, the Ides of September 1458.

2. *Bull of Pope Pius II., granted to the Provost and Canons of St Salvator, for graduating in Theology and the Arts, in their own College, A.D. 1468.*

"Paulus, episcopus, servus, &c. A petition was lately presented unto us, on the part of the dean and chapter of the church of St Salvator in St Andrews, stating, that among other colleges in the kingdom of Scotland, the college of the said church stands distinguished, wherein theology is continually read, and the students bring forth wholesome fruits, where of old the enemy of the human race planted errors : wherefore, the said dean and chapter, having humbly prayed us that we would vouchsafe to order that lectures be delivered in the said college, with a view to degrees in theology and the arts, and that those who wish to be advanced thereto, be duly tried and examined for the degrees of licentiate and master,

(according to the practice in the University of St Andrews,) by the provost of the college, together with those selected by him ; and, if judged fit in the conscientious opinion of the examiners, to be received, and, if unfit, to be rejected ; and not to be promoted to such degrees until they pay the usual expenses, the customs and statutes of the university, even though confirmed by oath notwithstanding ; we, therefore, inflamed with an anxious desire that science should flourish everywhere in our times, and that all who study it be relieved from every hindrance, and even be exempted from the temporary observance of an oath by which they have hitherto been bound, and moved by the above supplications, decree that in the said college lectures be delivered, with a view to degrees in theology," &c., (as expressed before.) " Therefore, let no man infringe this our deed of confirmation, &c. Dated at St Peter's, Rome, 25th day of February 1468."

It appears that the college, in two years after this, renounced the right of conferring degrees, which this bull conferred on them. See R. Howie's Oration de Fund. Univ. Sti. Andreae, MS. 1617.

No. III.

CHARTERS AND STATUTES RELATING TO ST LEONARD'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS.

1. *Charter of King James IV., containing in it the two Foundation-Charters of St Leonard's College, by Alexander (Stewart) archbishop, and John Hepburn prior of St Andrews, A.D. 1512.*

James, by the grace of God, king of Scots, to all good men in my dominions, clergy and laity, salutem. Know that we have approved and confirmed the two under-written charters ; one by the most reverend and venerable father in Christ our beloved councillor Alexander, by divine mercy, archbishop of St Andrews, primate of all Scotland, legate of the apostolical see, and commendator of the monasteries of Dunfermline and Coldingham ;¹ the other by the prior and canons of the metropolitan church of St Andrews, in reference to the erection of a college for *pauperes clerici* within the city of St Andrews : which charters we have

¹ This was his own natural son, then only twenty-two years of age, and who, together with the king, was killed the very next year at Flodden !

caused to be inspected and examined, and find to be whole and entire, and free from erasures, and are of the following tenor :—

First Charter.—"Alexander, by divine mercy, &c., &c.: Seeing that long since, Saint Regulus, a worshipper of God, miraculously brought from the city of Patras, into Scotland, the relics of St Andrew the apostle, and being honourably welcomed by a Catholic king (a Catholico rege) after a tempest, deposited them here where our metropolis now is," &c. The charter then goes on to state, that in consequence of the numerous miracles which were performed by these relics, an hospital had been founded by a former prior of St Andrews, in order to accommodate the pilgrims who resorted from all parts to witness, and be benefited by them; that the miracles had ceased, as was to be expected (ut credere fas est) after Christianity had been thoroughly rooted in the country; that the hospital had then been converted into an asylum for aged and infirm women, who, however, yielded but little good fruit in their life and conversation, (quæ parum aut nihil fructus devotionis aut virtutis perficerant;) and now at last, the parties concerned, desiring to preserve the tempest-tost bark of St Peter, and to uphold the declining state of the church, had determined to convert the said hospital and the church of St Leonard¹ adjoining the same, into a college for maintaining one principal master; four chaplains, two of whom, being regents, shall say daily masses for the souls both of the old and the new founder; and twenty scholars who shall all be well instructed in the Gregorian *cantus* and *discantus*, and six of whom shall be students of theology," &c. *The Prior's Charter* begins thus :—"To all who may see or hear of this charter: John Hepburn, by divine permission prior of the metropolitan church of St Andrews, and the canons of the same, salutem in Domino. Know that we the chapter canonically assembled, unanimously grant," &c. The charter then proceeds to enumerate a vast variety of property with which the prior and his canons endow the college; and among other properties, with lands of Kinloquhy, Fausyde, and Rathelphy, near St Andrews; the new ward lying between Lambelethy and New Grange, two mills at Goukston and Craigmill, &c.; and within the city of St Andrews, all the lands and tenements in Prior's Wynd, (East-burn Wynd,) describing the boundaries of the various tenements, and giving the names of the then adjacent proprietors; and finally, certain properties in Edinburgh, Leith, and

¹ St Leonard was a French nobleman of great reputation in the court of Clovis I. He was converted to the faith by St Remigius, and died about the year 559. His festival is kept on the 6th November.

Haddington.¹ All interference with the object of the foundation, or departure from its rules, is prohibited under pain of a curse and eternal condemnation. The prior dates, apud monasterium nostrum Sanctiandrie, 1st February, 1512. The king dates at Edinburgh, 23d February, 1512, in presence of Alexander archbishop of St Andrews, our chancellor; William bishop of Aberdeen, our privy seal; our beloved cousin Archibald earl of Argyll; Lord Campbell and Lorn, master of our household; Mathew earl of Lennox; Alexander lord Darnley; Lord Hume, our chamberlain; Andrew lord Gray, our justiciary; our beloved clerks, Gavin Dunbar archdeacon of St Andrews, and Patrick Panter, our secretary. The archbishop dates, apud palatium nostrum St Andrews, 21st August, 1512.

2. *Charter of Confirmation of the Foundation of St Leonard's College, by David (Beaton) cardinal-archbishop of St Andrews, A.D. 1544.*

"David, by divine mercy cardinal-presbyter of St Stephen in *celio monte* in the holy Roman church, archbishop of St Andrews, primate of all Scotland, *legatus natus* of the apostolic see, and *legatus de latere* of the same throughout the whole said kingdom, ad futuram rei memoriam." After the usual preamble,— "Whereas, on the part of our beloved Mr John Annand, professed canon of our metropolitan church of St Andrews, licentiate in theology, and principal master of our new college *pauperum clericorum*, founded and erected under the name of St Leonard the Confessor, within our city and university of St Andrews, and the other masters, regents, chaplains, students, and scholars of the same, a petition was presented to us, that John Hepburn, of good memory, while prior of our said church, and his chapter canonically assembled, granted," &c. The object of this charter is to confirm, in the cardinal's legantine and archiepiscopal capacity, the foregoing foundation-charter of St Leonard's college. He commits the visitation of it to the reverend father in Christ the Bishop of Brechin, the principal Archdeacon of St Andrews, and James Leirmonth, provost of the royal chapel or collegiate church of St Mary *de rupe*, near the said city of St Andrews. He dates at St Andrews, "under the seal of our legation, in the year of our Lord 1544, kal. Decem., and in the eleventh year of the pontificate of Pope Paul III."

¹ From these endowments a considerable revenue still arises to the United Colleges of St Leonard and St Salvator.

3. *Statutes of the College.*

"All things," says St Paul the Apostle, "ought to be done decently and in order;" by which words Christians are taught to adhere to a fixed and prescribed "order" of living; and though this be the duty of all, yet it seems peculiarly suited to the young, that when they come to a more advanced age, they may shun those evils to which they are prone by nature. Which sentiment the prophet Isaiah confirms, where he says, "The lambs shall feed after their manner," (*juxta ordinem suum*); understanding by the lambs, no doubt, the young in whom "order" is to be so settled, that, having reference to both lives, they may be fed both with carnal and spiritual food.

Wherefore we, John Hepburn prior of St Andrews, conformably to the doctrine of St Peter the Apostle, who (as we read in the Acts of the Apostles) "expounded the matter from the beginning *by order* unto them," have, with the advice and consent of our brotherhood, agreed upon a certain brief order of life (*brevem vitæ ordinem*) for the poor scholars, presbyters, and regents of the college of St Andrew the Apostle, situated near the church of St Leonard; which order is described below, and which we direct may be inviolably followed.

CHAP. I.—*The manner of Admitting Students.*

We enjoin, that, if any one wish to be received "in nostro pauperum collegio," he shall, on the Friday after his admission by the lord prior, repair to the principal master of the college, and shall ask, on his bended knees, to be received, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, into this holy society. The principal, after that he, together with the sub-prior, and third prior, have strictly examined him in grammar, shall make minute inquiry into the purity of his life, the correctness of his morals, and also his poverty in regard to worldly circumstances; and if he find him well versed in the first and second parts of grammar, (or at least in the greater proportion of the second part,) enslaved by no vice, poor in his circumstances, correct in his morals, a good writer, and a good singer according to the Gregorian *cantus*, he shall send him back to the prior with a certificate to this effect, from himself, the sub-prior, and the third prior aforesaid.

No one shall be admitted by the prior, until he be examined by the above personages; nor any one be sent to him by them, unless he be found competent as to the particulars specified, as the examiners themselves shall hope to escape the divine condemna-

tion ; and no one shall be received by bribe, or entreaty, or the interest of any religious or secular person, (unless he is found qualified,) under the penalty of eternal damnation ; and if several offer themselves, he who undergoes the best examination shall be preferred to the rest.

No one shall be received under fifteen nor above twenty-one years of age. Moreover, the youth of other religious and charitable seminaries which are constituted like ours, may be admitted into ours, if similarly qualified, and if they conform to all and each of our statutes ; and may be accommodated with our youth, two and two, either in the cells of the lower house, or on the south side of the same, as may be convenient.

CHAP. II.—*Of Religious Exercises.*

A general awakener (suscitator) shall be appointed for every week, who shall get up at five o'clock from Easter till the feast of the Holy Cross, (14th September,) and from Holy Cross till Easter, at half-past six. On feast days, the bell being rung, all shall assemble in the choir of the chapel, (*ad chorum*,) and, having heard the first mass, (which the hebdomarius shall celebrate without the *cantus*,) shall devoutly read the *matutinae* of the blessed Virgin, and other devotional exercises. At nine o'clock on the said feast days, the bell shall be rung for high mass, which the hebdomarius and the rest shall sing with the Gregorian *cantus*, devoutly and protractedly. But on holydays, when only one mass is usually performed, high mass shall be sung by the hebdomarius at six o'clock, sufficient time being left for lectures and study. At three o'clock every day, the bell shall ring for vespers, which they shall devoutly perform with the Gregorian *cantus* ; but not by dropping the syllables, or in a familiar, unbecoming manner. At seven o'clock, the bell shall ring for the *Salve*, which (together with the commemoration of St Andrew and St Leonard) all shall sing with a loud voice. Also, every Sunday they shall, two and two, sing the new *Dirige* in behalf of their benefactors, and the founders of these lectures. They shall confess once a-month ; and, on the feasts of the Nativity, Easter, Whitsunday, and the Assumption, they shall all devoutly receive the sacrament of the holy Eucharist, after making the sacramental confession.

CHAP. III.—*On the Internal Economy of the College.*

We direct that, at seven o'clock on saints' days, the morning lecture shall be read by the principal, and one of the regents, in turn, at which all the students shall be present, if the principal so order. Thrice in the week, after dinner, a lecture shall be delivered on

grammar, or poetry, or oratory, or one of the books of Solomon, by the regents in turn ; but not on Sundays, which shall be left open for scholastic discussions, (*pro disputationibus.*) At eleven o'clock, and five, on saints' days, the bell shall ring, *pro regula* ; which being finished, the guilty shall be punished. At two o'clock on Sundays, let the bell be rung for scholastic discussions. Before proceeding to the degree of "Master," let the students perfect themselves in logic, physio, philosophy, metaphysics, and ethics, and in one, at least, of the books of Solomon. Let all speak the Latin tongue, except the cook and his boy, and let them express themselves with gravity, modesty, and civility. From the ringing of the bell after the *Sales*, till getting up in the morning, let no one speak but in a whisper, lest he disturb those who are asleep.

Every day at eight o'clock, each student is to have four ounces of bread. The bell is to strike for dinner at half-past eleven o'clock, when each is to receive eight ounces of bread and a chopin of good drink. At supper, which is to be at half-past seven, the same quantity of bread and drink as at dinner. On flesh days, at dinner, the students are to be indulged with potage and vegetables, and a dish of meat. At supper, with broth and meat intermixed, and a dish of meat. On fish days, they may have vegetables at dinner ; and, both at dinner and supper, two dishes of fish. The fasts of the Church shall be strictly kept by those who have reached their twenty-first year ; but the juniors need not keep more than the vigils of the Nativity, Easter, Whitsunday, the Assumption, All Saints, St Andrew's day, and the Fridays in Lent, unless they are eighteen years old, and then they shall add to these the Wednesdays in Lent. At the common table, the reading of Scripture, or of some moral or historical book, at the discretion of the principal, shall be regularly practised ; and on Fridays, these our statutes are to be read. Two of the students shall serve in turn, one in issuing the drink, the other in the kitchen, who shall both eat their meals with the cook. Every Sunday, the whole place shall be swept and cleaned by four of the students in turn. The windows, ceilings, altars, and walls, shall be cleared from cobwebs and other dirt, by all the students, at Christmas and Easter. One of the priests, a prudent and devout man, shall be chief sacristan, who shall have the charge of the church and the parishioners, and under whom the students shall serve weekly, and shall sing the Epistle at table. At eight o'clock at night, the rooms shall be visited by the principal master, or one of the regents, in turn.

CHAP. IV.—*Concerning those who go out of the College.*

We direct that a poor student, or operative belonging to the col-

lege, be appointed janitor of the outer gate, who shall open it at five o'clock in the morning in summer, and shut it at nine at night, immediately after the *Salve*. In winter, he shall open it at six, and shut it at eight; and this janitor, unless he be *caputiatus*, (entitled to wear a hood,) shall fill the drinking vessels for the students. When the gate is shut, he shall deliver the keys to the principal, and receive them from him to open it in the morning, and on no account admit any stranger, or improper person, without the principal's leave. Especially we forbid any female to enter our college, except the common laundress, who shall not be less than fifty years old; because, says St Jerome, no one can serve God with all his heart who has any transactions with a woman. If the janitor suffer any other person to enter without permission, let him be punished. No one shall go out of the college without leave from the principal, or one of the regents; nor shall they grant this leave to any one but on good grounds, and without having received proofs of his purity and integrity. They who go into the town, shall always wear their gown and hood, (*mantello et caputio*;) but, for formal admissions, let all go together to the pedagogium, except in time of Lent, when it shall be sufficient for those only who are to be made bachelors to go there for examination. At times of general processions, all shall assemble in their surplices or gowns, (*collobiis*;) as the principal may direct. The hebdomarius shall carry the cross before the Epistle, (*ad epistolam*;) and two of the juniors the candelabra. Once every week, the students, under one of the masters, shall repair to the fields, [*ad campos*, probably the Links,] and, having there practised some honest games, shall return in time for vespers; nor shall any one be allowed, during the time of the games, to separate himself from his companions. But if field recreations be permitted more than once a-week, (which, however, we object to,) then let the students be sent to some honest labour in a garden, or elsewhere. The care of the gates, the filling of the flagons, and the duties of the table, are to be performed by no one who does not belong to the place, unless the task be difficult; in which case the principal may order some assistance to be given. Women, as already said, are on no account to be admitted into the college, except to be present at a procession, (*causa processionis*.) At no time are they to be allowed to perform any of the internal duties of the establishment.

CHAP. V.—*Concerning the Principal Master, Chaplains, and Regents.*

We direct that one who is a canon of the priory of St Andrews, a grave, prudent, and learned man, and either a doctor, licentiate,

or bachelor, shall be elected by the prior, in all time coming, to be principal master of our college for the poor, to whom all the presbyters, regents, and scholars, shall be humbly obedient, and shall diligently attend to his admonitions, and take mildly the correction of their faults, and always hold him in due reverence. As often as he shall think fit, they shall act as office-bearers under him, and render to him an account of the college property. He himself shall be bound to render to the prior an account of the same once a-year. On the chief festivals he shall say vespers, with the mass and collects, after the *Salve*; and, on Wednesdays and Fridays, he shall instruct the presbyters, regents, and all others who choose to attend, in sacred and speculative theology. Let there be also two devout priests in the college; one of whom shall superintend its spiritual concerns, and be named curate and sacristan; the other, its temporal concerns, and be named purveyor and provisor. These two, together with the regents, shall say the masses, vespers, and collects, after the *Salve*, on the minor festivals, and every week on Sunday and holydays.

Let the regents be four in number, or fewer, as the college may admit, or as the principal may direct; but let them be instituted to their office by the lord prior and the principal for the time. At their institution, they shall take an oath of fidelity and obedience, that they will promote the wellbeing of the place, and instruct the youth in good morals and salutary doctrines, and obey the principal in all things lawful, and especially in whatever tends to suppress vice and advance virtue; and, lastly, that they will submit to be corrected for their faults, if guilty of any. When instituted, they shall every day, or, at least, every holiday, deliver three, or not less than two, ordinary lectures of their class, concerning which they shall demand an account from the students, and shall reprove the ignorant and careless; and not only so, but they shall punish those of their class who transgress the statutes of our college, without delay, yet with gentleness and consideration.

The principal himself, the regents and presbyters, shall have their daily food and lodging for their labour, as is fit; and the regents shall sit at the same table, eat of the same dish, if possible, and partake of the same indulgencies: they shall sit down and rise up together; and so arrange matters that the juniors shall render due honour to their seniors. And besides his food, and the other things which he is entitled to from the college, the principal shall have ten libræ per annum of stipend, together with a youth as a servant, who shall also assist at the public table. Each of the priests and regents shall have ten marks, unless they have altarages, which they may hold according to the tenor of their endowment, provided

the best be given to the most deserving. The rental of the place, the common books, the registers, title-deeds, and inventories of valuables, shall be carefully preserved by the principal, and two or three of the canons, as a council; and the principal shall be entitled to demand, any night after supper, an account of the daily expenditure from the provisor. It shall not be lawful for a presbyter or regent to resign an office which he has accepted, without he signify the same, three months before, to the principal, unless under peculiar circumstances; nor shall the principal himself remove any one from his office, without giving him three months' warning, unless it be (which God forbid!) on account of some crime; in which case the pressing evil will require an immediate remedy. The exact number of the students in our college cannot be fixed, because that must depend on the capabilities of the place, which fluctuate. They may, however, be at present ten, more or less, according to the discretion of the principal.

CHAP. VI.—*Concerning other Persons who may desire to become Members of our College for the Poor.*

✕ If any of the children of the nobility, or others, desire to join themselves to our society, with a view to acquire knowledge and virtue, we refuse them not: provided they, above all things, seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and behave properly to the principal and regents, and in no way infringe these our statutes; and, if they choose to eat with our youth, they must submit to the same discipline, and read in their turn at table, and strictly observe the same rules. In the schools, too, and elsewhere, their appearance and dress must be conformable to scholastic propriety. Delinquents also may be punished, not only by the principal but by the regents; and, if the nature of the fault require it, they may be expelled.

And not only in the schools and at lectures, but everywhere, and especially in the cells, the regents shall closely inspect the students, to see that they are not idle, careless, or dissolute; that they do not wear a secular dress, nor their garments too much cut away, nor their caps of a green, scarlet, blue, yellow, or any showy colour; but that all their garments, whether linen or woollen, be such as becomes grave and clerical persons. They are not to let their beards or their hair be too long, but be so cut as that a great part of the ears shall be seen. When they happen to go within the priory, (which they are not to do without leave,) they shall not walk up and down in the nave of the church, or towards the choir, in time of divine service; but rather they shall resort to retired places for their private devotions; and, if they hold public disputations, it must be outside the church.

They shall not frequent the town. They shall not hold nocturnal entertainments. They shall not carry knives, or offensive weapons within the college; nor accustom themselves to games of dice or football, or any other dangerous and unbecoming games; which, if they do, let them first be mildly reprov'd, and, after that, if they amend not, let them be expelled. Let the regent who superintended those who took their degree in arts the preceding year, begin his new class immediately after the feast of St Michael, (29th September,) which all shall attend who entered between the two preceding Ash Wednesdays; and to those who entered between the said feast of St Michael and the preceding Easter, he shall teach grammar, poetry, oratory, or anything else which the principal may direct: but let the regents and presbyters be present, lest, through love of filthy lucre, any fee be extorted, and, also, lest anything objectionable be taught to those who are leaving the place. And let the regents and chaplains take care that they are not too familiar with any of the students, remembering that "too much familiarity breeds contempt." The usual vacation shall not begin before the feast of Holy Cross, (14th September,) nor extend beyond the feast of St Michael; unless the principal decide otherwise, from the dearness of provisions, or any other sufficient cause. Lastly, we exhort in the Lord all noble and ecclesiastical persons who may wish to become inmates of our college, that, before all things, they set an example of good morals, and, next, that they never infringe these our statutes, but abstain from all vice, and advance steadily in the path of virtue.

CHAP. VII.—*On the Correction of Defaulters.*

We direct, that every Friday a chapter be held for correcting defaulters, at which the guilty, and especially the idle, shall be duly punished. And if any who has been punished, do not amend, let him be, two different times, threatened with expulsion, in the presence of the whole community; and if, after that, he amend not, let him be irrecoverably expelled. Divine service (as said before) shall be duly performed at the accustomed times: and let the chaplains, regents, and foundation-students, punctually attend the same, clothed in their surplices, particularly on Sundays and the chief holydays; and let them sit or stand in the side-stalls, chair against chair, according to their age: Yet there may be a space between the regents and their pupils, on account of the respect due to the former. And we desire that two regents sit on the south side of the choir,—one, namely, at the head of the first stall, the other, at the end of the stalls, between the students and the altar; and two other regents on the north side of the choir, in the same

order ; between which regents, all the students are to be placed. If any one absent himself from divine service, let him be punished. If any absent himself, and have been twice admonished to no purpose, let him be irrecoverably expelled from the society. Also, if any one go out of the gates without leave, or withdraw himself from his companions when out on leave, and have been duly warned without effect, let him be dismissed from the college. The presbyters and regents shall not make a practice of going out, except on duty, which if they do, let them be chastised by the principal. A gamester, a calumniator, a composer of bad books, a drunkard, a peace-breaker, and a brawler, shall be expelled, if he has been previously warned to no purpose ; but if he has only been once guilty of any of these faults, let him be punished by the masters. Moreover, if any have stolen an article of value, or have frequently stolen articles of small value, let him be expelled upon conviction. Lastly, if any regent, chaplain, or student has been convicted of disobedience, rebellion, going into the town at night, revealing the secrets of the college, or of unchastity, let him be expelled. Therefore, that these things may be observed, and that nothing be exempt from correction which requires it, and that a stimulus may be given to the presbyters and regents to watch diligently over the flock committed to their care, we direct, that this our college be visited, as well in head as in members, as well in temporal as in spiritual affairs, every year between the octaves of St Leonard, the patron of the college, by the sub-prior, third prior, and any other canon, or at least by some of the chapter of St Andrews whom the prior shall consider eligible. And we desire, that the whole college rental, with its expenses, be examined by the same persons, that there may be no deficiencies or excesses. And if anything remain, over and above, let it be laid out by the principal on the fabric of the college, or other necessary expenses : or if anything has been neglected, let it be reformed by the visitors. But if they seem to exceed their commission, let that be immediately referred to the prior, who shall rigidly uphold these our statutes, as he himself expects to receive the reward of eternal salvation.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Sick, and Prayers for the Dead.*

The sick shall be supported from the college revenues ; and shall be kindly supplied with meat and drink, and other comforts, at the discretion of the masters. But if any one be very sick, let him be well taken care of out of the college, in a room furnished with everything he may need, and attended by a matron not under fifty years old, and of spotless fame : which matron shall suffer no female servant to dwell with her, unless distinguished for the like

virtues. Let the linens of the place be washed, and, if necessary, mended by the said matron. When any one draws near to death, if the disease be not contagious, let all the rest, or at least the greater part of them, be summoned to the patient's presence, and commend his soul to God by their devout prayers. Also, let the patient have extreme unction given him; and if he happen to depart out of this life, let the mass of the *Requiem* be sung for him—one mass by a priest, and the *Dirige novem lectionum* by the scholars. On the death of our superior, John Hepburn, the present prior, let the *Dirige* and the mass of the *Requiem* be solemnly sung—the former by a priest, the latter by the clerical students; so that, aided by their prayers, he may obtain the kingdom of heaven, to which may he be brought by Jesus Christ our Lord, “who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.”

Confirmation of the foregoing Statutes.

To all who may see or hear of this document. James, (Stewart,) by divine permission perpetual Commendator of the priory of St Andrews; Alexander Myln, by the same permission abbot of Cambuskenneth, and general administrator, for the time, *in spiritualibus et temporalibus*, of the said priory, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Know that we, canonically assembled, and using due deliberation, have read and minutely examined the foregoing statutes of our college, drawn up by our predecessor John Hepburn, late prior of St Andrews, of good memory, and now revived and renewed by us: And because we consider the same to be useful and good, and well-suited to the condition of the persons who live in our college of the poor, we confirm and ratify the same in every particular, and desire they may be faithfully observed by all the inmates of our college, until we determine otherwise. In testimony of which, and with the signatures of the two aforesaid, (the commendator and administrator,) those of the sub-prior, and principal master, the common seal of our chapter, and that of the said college, are affixed at our monastery and college respectively, 8th September, 1544.

JAMES, (STEWART,) Commendator of the Priory of St Andrews, affirms and ratifies the foregoing statutes.

ALEXANDER, (MYLN,) Administrator as above, with his own hand.

JOHN WYNRAM, Sub-prior, affirms the foregoing statutes.

JOHN ANNAND, Canon of St Andrews, and Principal of St Leonard's, affirms the same.

THOMAS FYFF, Sacristan of St Leonard's College, affirms.

JOHN LAUMONTH, Provisor of the said College, affirms.

JAMES WILKIE, Regent, affirms the same.

DAVID GUILD, Regent, approves the same.

DAVID GARDYN, Regent, approves the same.

When the Lord James Stewart, as commendator, gave his assent to the foregoing statutes, he was no more than eleven years old. He probably little thought at the time that he would be one of the first to subvert what he had solemnly "ratified and confirmed."

No. IV.

BULLS AND CHARTERS RELATING TO ST MARY'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS.

1. *Annexation, by Archbishop A. Stewart, of the Parish of St Michael, (near Cupar, Fife,) to the Pedagogium of the University, towards its erection into a College, A.D. 1512.*

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it known unto all men, that in the year 1512, according to the computation of the Scottish church, 23d April, the 15th Indiction, the 9th year of the pontificate of Julius II., in presence of me, the undersigned notary, and us, the subscribing witnesses, that the most reverend father in Christ, Alexander, [Stewart,] by divine mercy archbishop of St Andrews, primate of all Scotland, *legatus natus* of the apostolic see, and perpetual commendator of the monasteries of Dunfermline and Coldingham, having entered a chapel of his metropolitan church, and when there, in his chapter duly assembled, in the presence of the venerable father in Christ, John, [Hepburn,] prior of the said church, and of the illustrious Gavin Dunbar, principal archdeacon of the same, and of the Presbyter William Guthrie, sub-prior, and other canons, members of the said chapter,—stated, that the pedagogium of his university of St Andrews had become nearly ruined, through the defect of its constitution, and the want of learned men; on which account he had resolved, with the consent of the said chapter, to endow the pedagogium, and to erect it into a college, to the glory of God, the defence of the faith, the increase of learning, and the celebration of *obits* therein for the soul of James,

the most serene and illustrious king of Scotland, his predecessors and successors, kings of Scotland, and for the soul of himself, the archbishop, and of his predecessors and successors, and the souls of all the faithful departed. And, first, he had resolved to annex to the said pedagogium, with a view to its erection into a college, the church of St Michael, together with its fruits and pertinents, near the town of Cupar, in his diocese, with consent of its possessor for the time, and with consent, also, of the said prior, archdeacon, sub-prior, and chapter," &c. &c. The rest of the MS. is so much injured as to be illegible.

2. *Bull of Paul III. for the erection of the New College, or that of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Assumption, in the city of St Andrews, and the annexation thereto of the Churches of Tannadice and Tynningham, A.D. 1537.*

"Paulus, episcopus, servus servorum Dei, &c. Seeing we have reserved to our disposal all ecclesiastical benefices appertaining to the apostolical see that are now vacant, or may hereafter become vacant, and have decreed that any attempt to possess the same shall be null and void, by whomsoever made; and, since lately the rectorial churches of Tannadice and Tynningham, in the diocese of St Andrews, have been vacated by the free resignation of their respective incumbents, our beloved sons Henry Lumsden and John Hay; and as, moreover, it has been submitted to us by our venerable brother James Beaton archbishop of St Andrews, in a petition which states that the said archbishop (knowing how much it conduces to the wellbeing of the church militant that it should abound with learned men, by whose labours error may be dissipated, and the light of truth shine forth; and being anxious to sow seed on earth, which may yield fruit in heaven) was desirous to institute and endow, in the city of St Andrews, where a university already exists, a college of scholars and presbyters, with a chapel in the same, under the name of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary,¹ with a view to the glory of God, and the honour of the said glorious Mary, always a virgin, and the exaltation of the church militant, and the benefit of poor ecclesiastics of the city and diocese of St Andrews, who may be desirous to make progress in arts and sciences; which college should contain certain doctors and masters and other learned men, who might publicly read and teach therein

¹ That the body of the blessed Virgin was *assumed* up into heaven, soon after her death, is one of the baseless traditions of the Church of Rome. The anniversary is kept on the 15th of August.

sacred theology, canon and civil law, physie, medicine, and other liberal sciences, and contain also certain scholars and ecclesiastics, who should enjoy portions called *bursaries* for their maintenance, and perform masses and other divine offices in the said chapel, according to the provisions to be made by the said archbishop, or those commissioned by him ; and that, if the said churches of Tannadice and Tynningham were perpetually annexed to the said college, the above-mentioned scholars, presbyters, &c., would be amply supported, and the salaries of the regents, and all other expenses, defrayed ; and the archbishop having declared that the fruits and revenues of the said two churches do not exceed the annual value of fifty-five pounds sterling ; and having prayed that we would vouchsafe, of our apostolical benignity, to grant our license to institute the college aforesaid, and perpetually to annex thereto the above churches ; We, therefore, greatly commending the pious desire of the archbishop, and hereby absolving him from all excommunications, interdicts, or other ecclesiastical censures, if bound by the same, grant authority to him, and other fit persons appointed by him, to institute a college of scholars, presbyters, &c., (expressed as above.) And also we grant to the regents and superiors of the said college, authority to promote to the degrees of bachelor, licentiate, doctor, and master, those who may be found qualified in knowledge and good morals, in theology, civil and canon law, or any other lawful faculty, the form of the Council of Vienna being followed, agreeably to the practice of that university." The bull then goes on to permit the graduates to lecture or dispute publicly on the subjects connected with these studies. It grants to all ecclesiastics, regular and secular, who may study in the college, permission to proceed to degrees in the same.¹ It conveys the fruits of the above two churches to the masters, doctors, and scholars of the college for ever ; but requires them to appoint vicars for the due performance of their parochial duties. No one to alter this bull, or infringe any of its provisions, on pain of the Divine displeasure. Dated at Tuscoli, 15th February, 1537.

3. *Executory Bull of the same Pope for the Erection and Endowment of the same College, A.D. 1537.*

" Paulus, episcopus, &c. To our venerable brothers the Bishops of Caithness, Dunkeld, and Ross, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. We have this day issued letters of the following tenor,"

¹ It is evident from the statutes, both of St Mary's and St Salvator's colleges, that they had each the power of conferring degrees ; but they renounced this power at an early period, and merged it in the university.

(here follows a copy of the foregoing bull.) These bishops are required to see that the provisions of the said letters are carried into effect, and to uphold the same, if necessary, by the papal authority.

4. *Donation of the Parochial Church of Conveth, [Laurencekirk,] by John [Hamilton] archbishop of St Andrews, in favour of the Masters, Regents, Chaplains, Bursars, and Students of the new College, A.D. 1550.*

“John, by divine mercy archbishop of St Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and *legatus natus* of the apostolic see, as well as abbot of the monastery of Paisley, of the Cluniac order, in the diocese of Glasgow, *ad futuram rei memoriam*.” In this charter the archbishop, after deploring the increase of heresy and schism, (which he says, *proh dolor!* was then flourishing and increasing in this and other countries,) proceeds to grant, with consent of the chapter of his metropolitan church, the fruits of the rectorial church of Conveth, in the diocese of St Andrews, (which church had been recently held by William Lamb of good memory, but was now vacant by his death, *extra Romanam curiam*,) to the masters, regents, chaplains, bursars, and students of St Mary’s college, which had been founded and endowed by his predecessors for their maintenance. The administration of the affairs of the parish of Conveth is conferred upon Alexander Forres provost of Foulis, in behoof of the college. A vicar-pensionary is appointed for the cure of the souls of the parishioners, with a competent salary, and a manse and garden. “In testimony whereof, we have appended our seal, and that of our chapter, in token of their consent, at St Andrews, this 26th June, 1550, in the presence of the venerable Gavin Hamilton dean of Glasgow; John Spital, vicar-general of the same; Abram Crichton of Dunglas; Alexander Forres provost of Foulis; Hugh Curry commendator of the Priory of Strathfillan; and George Cok vicar of Perth. Tested by John Lauder, M.A., clerical notary-public of St Andrews; and matriculated in the archives’ office in the Roman court.”

5. *Bull of Pope Julius III., granted to John Hamilton archbishop of St Andrews, for enlarging and completing the College of St Mary, and annexing thereto, in perpetuity, the parish churches of Tannadice, Tynningham, and Inchbriok,¹ A.D. 1552.*

After beginning in the usual style, and stating that Archbishop

¹ This parish was afterwards divided into two, which are now known by the names of Craig and Logie-pert in Forfarshire.

James Beaton had been the first to propose the annexation of the churches of Tannadice and Tynningham to the college, the bull proceeds to say, that his successor David Beaton "of happy memory, cardinal-presbyter of St Stephen, in *cœlio monte*," and archbishop of St Andrews, had appointed certain learned men as superiors, masters, regents, and scholars of the same, together with some presbyters and singers, for the celebration of divine service therein; and, besides the two churches aforesaid, had, by his own authority, annexed thereto the parish church of Inchbriok, with consent of the chapter of the metropolitan church; and had also, with like consent, appropriated some other property, lying within the royalty of St Andrews, to the same purpose; and had, moreover, put the masters, regents, students, chaplains, and singers, in actual possession of the above property; and desiring to carry on the college to the glory of God, had confirmed everything that his predecessor, Archbishop James Beaton, had determined upon; and had begun to construct the buildings, with a view to their completion, but had been prevented from so doing by a premature death; and "that you, Archbishop John Hamilton, his successor, desiring to fulfil the wishes of your two predecessors, have endowed the college and its chapel with divers lands and properties; and, from the day of your promotion to the church of St Andrews, have not ceased, nor do yet cease, to cause the reading of grammar, rhetoric, music, the arts, medicine, and theology, as well as canon and civil law, in the said college, and to bring from distant provinces and countries, various doctors, regents, singers, priests, scholars, and other fit persons, &c. We, therefore, desiring, &c." The bull then goes on to confirm to Archbishop Hamilton what had been confirmed before to Archbishop Beaton. It concludes with the usual malediction against all contraveners, and is dated at St Mark's in Rome, 7th Kal. September the year 1552, and the third year of our pontificate.

6. *New Foundation and Erection of St Mary's College, by John Hamilton archbishop of St Andrews, A.D. 1553.*

"John, by divine mercy archbishop of St Andrews, primate of all Scotland, *legatus natus*, abbot of the monastery of the Cluniac order in Paisley, and *legatus de latere* of the holy Roman Church and the apostolic see, salutem, &c. Dominus Julius the most holy Father in Christ, by divine mercy pope, lately granted at our entreaty, and by his apostolic authority, to us and our representatives in the city of St Andrews, license to institute a college of doctors, masters, and scholars, and to annex thereto the parish churches of Tannadice, Tynningham, and Inchbriok, in our diocese, with their

fruits, tithes, and other rights and revenues, both rectorial and vicarial, as fully set forth in a bull of Julius III. of the following tenor: (Here the foregoing bull is inserted.) To all therefore who desire the increase of the Christian name, be it known that we, by these presents, erect the college which is situated in the South Street of our city of St Andrews, and which is dedicated to the holy Virgin Mary, in honour of the tri-une God, and of the said blessed Virgin, and of all the host of heaven; in which college, it is our pleasure that thirty-six persons be maintained, besides those who are to be employed in the service of the Church, and who are named vicars-pensionary: the first of whom we desire may be called the provost; the second licentiate; the third bachelor; and the fourth canonist. Besides these, eight students of theology, three professors of theology, an orator, and a grammarian, (which last five are otherwise called regents;) and sixteen poor students of philosophy; to which number we add a provisor, a janitor, and a cook." The charter then proceeds to describe, at great length, the various duties of the above-mentioned persons, and to fix the allowances of each. Those duties combine the devotional exercises of monks, with the literary pursuits of students and professors. £120 Scots are allowed for the table of the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist; £260 for that of the eight students of theology and the five regents; and £213, 6 solidi, and 8 denarii, for that of the sixteen students of philosophy. The following is the regulation concerning the last-mentioned class of students, who seem to have acted as a kind of servitors to the rest: "*Eighthly*, We appoint sixteen poor students of philosophy, who shall be previously taught in grammar and Latin, that they may be able, in their exercises, to express themselves in suitable language. Before their admission into the college, they shall take an oath that they have no patrimony, or benefice, or any other source of livelihood. They shall next pray, that for the love of God they may be admitted into the order of poor students. They shall always wear, both at home and abroad, a robe bound by a girdle, to which they shall add, at their own expense, a black hood, (*nigrum caputium*.) They shall sleep, two and two, near the aforesaid students of theology, towards whom in all things they shall behave honestly: and they shall provide their own bed furniture, that they may not be a burden, but an honour and service, to the said students. One of their number, each in his turn, shall awaken all the domestics at five o'clock in the morning, and furnish a light to those who may require one. In this condition of poor students, they shall remain till they have had sufficient time to take their degree in arts." All that is over of the revenues of the college, after paying the salaries and other expenses,

is to go into the college chest, of which chest there are to be four keys: the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist, each to have one. "From the calends of March, to the calends of October, we command mass to be performed every day at six o'clock, by one of the students of theology, at which all the persons on the foundation of the college shall be present, in surplices; the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist, wearing cape, as they do at the college of St Salvator. In the first and most dignified part of the choir, on the right-hand side, let the provost take his seat; next him the bachelor of theology; then four students of theology; after them, two professors of philosophy; and, lastly, the orator. On the left side of the choir shall sit, first, the licentiate; then the canonist; after them, four students of theology; next, the grammarian; and, lastly, the provisor, as often as he is able to be present. And on the four benches on each side shall be eight students of philosophy; two of whom shall bear the wax candles, and shall perform the duties which are usually performed by the religious novitiate." Then follow rules for the scholastic exercises of the five regents, the nature of their disputations with the students, and the hours at which they should take place. "Besides this, we desire that the provost, or the licentiate, should have the power to grant liberty of playing to the youth, or of going into the town; and we forbid any student of theology, or regent, to assume this power to himself, on pain of being punished by the provost or licentiate. The provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist, shall wear, both in and out of the college, short hoods, according to the Parisian fashion. The five regents and the students of theology, till they graduate, shall also wear hoods like the Parisians; and all the pupils, however distinguished by birth, or other circumstances, shall wear belted gowns till they graduate. All the persons on the foundation shall live honestly, according to their rank; they shall sleep within the walls of the college; they shall be regular in hall and chapel. They shall not carry away with them any fragments of food from the table; for we desire that the fragments be distributed (according to the discretion of the provost) to the provisor, janitor, and cook, and to the servants of the provost, licentiate, &c.; which servants shall wait both on them and the whole hall. Besides this, we forbid that to any member of the college there should be any public concubinage, or other manifest vice; but if there be, (which God forbid!) let him be first admonished by the provost alone, and then brought before the licentiate, bachelor, and canonist; and if he repent not, be expelled, that he may not become a scandal to others." "The rector of the university; the official; the archdeacon; the Provost of St Salvator's; the Provincial Sub-prior of the

Dominicans, (or in his absence the Prior of the Dominican monastery of St Andrews;) the minister of the Franciscans, (or in his absence the warden of the same;) shall be patrons of the college: for we are of opinion, that the above seven men, besides their general probity, have such skill in learning, that they will always put in proper men to fill the vacant offices. Whenever, therefore, the first place, or provostship of our college shall be vacant, the rector of the university, being called upon by the licentiate, bachelor, and canonist, or two, or one of them, shall affix notice thereof on the gates of the colleges of St Salvator, St Leonard, and St Mary, and of the monasteries of the Dominicans and Franciscans; and, after the expiration of fifteen days, shall call together the above-mentioned six patrons, to whom an oath shall be administered by the Prior of St Andrews, that they are not influenced by solicitation, or affection, or hatred, or gift, or anything except the pure love of virtue and learning, but will present the fittest person they can find, to the vacant office. The other offices in the college are to be filled up in like manner. These seven patrons are also to be annual visitors of the college, for the correction of abuses, and the examination of accounts; which accounts the provisor is to have in readiness to be laid before them." "In like manner, we desire that our college, with its churches, revenues, and fruits, be exempted from all ordinary taxes, customs, and burdens, as well as from all contributions to our most holy father the Pope; and this we do in virtue of the special authority committed to us by the apostolic see." The archbishop then goes on to caution all connected with the college, against negligence in the performance of their sacred and secular duties, and to express hopes that benefit will accrue from it, not only to his own diocese, but to all Christendom. "In testimony of all which, we have sealed and subscribed these presents, at Edinburgh, on the 5th March, the year of our Lord 1553, in the fifth year of the pontificate of Pope Julius III., in the presence of James duke of Chattelherault, tutor of our most serene Queen of Scots, and sole governor of her kingdom; the reverend father in Christ David lord bishop of Ross; the venerable and noble father George, perpetual commendator of Dunfermline; William, perpetual commendator of Culross; James Hamilton, subdean of Glasgow; Alexander Dunbar, prior of the Benedictine order of Pluscardin; Andrew Stuart lord Ochiltree; David Douglas master of Angus; the knights, James Hamilton of Crafford, John David Hamilton of Preston, Alexander Livingston of Dunypas, Robert Carnegie of Kinard, Robert Graham laird of Morphe, James Dundas of that Ilk; Thomas Marjoribanks, clerk-register; John Stevenson, precentor of Glasgow; Robert Baillie, rector of

Provand; William Cranstoun, provost of St Salvator's college in St Andrews, our principal official; John Wynram, subprior of St Andrews; James Balfour, our official of Lothian; Alexander Forrest, provost of the church of St Mary-in-the-Fields, in the town of Edinburgh."

7. *Donation of the Parish Church of Tarvett,¹ by John archbishop of St Andrews, in favour of the Masters, &c., of St Mary's College, A.D. 1558.*

This charter commences like the preceding, No. 4, and then proceeds thus: "Seeing that the parish church of Tarvett, in our diocese of St Andrews, which lately was held by Mr William Dischington of happy memory, has become vacant, and is now vacant, by the simple resignation of John Acheson, or by the death of the said William *extra Romanam curiam aut alias quovismodi*: We, therefore, wishing to enlarge our new college, which is on the site of the pedagogium in our city of St Andrews, under the name of the blessed Mary of the Assumption, and which was in part founded and endowed by our predecessors," &c. The archbishop then proceeds to annex in perpetuity the church and fruits of the parish of Tarvett to the college, in the same manner as those of Tannadice, Tynningham, Conveth, and Inchbriok, had been annexed in preceding charters. "Done and given at Edinburgh, in our diocese of St Andrews, in the year of our Lord 1558, the 31st day of March, the third year of the pontificate of Pope Julius IV., the twelfth year of our consecration, and the ninth of our translation to the primacy. In the presence of the venerable Robert Hamilton, rector of Torrens; George Cok, vicar of Perth; David Hamilton, chaplain; William Stewart, Archibald Hamilton, John Kessane, notary-public; and divers others."

The very next year, the archbishop witnessed the overthrow of all he had done, and the application of his college funds to the very purposes he deprecated!

¹ This parish is now united to that of Cupar; but it still yields a small portion of teind to the college.

No. V.

LIST OF BURSARIES AT ST MARY'S, AND THE UNITED COLLEGE.

Bursaries belonging to St Mary's College.

No.	Founders' Names.	When founded.	Patrons.	Value of each.
8	Archbishop Beaton,	1537	St Mary's College, about	£9 0 0
1	Moncrieffe, . . .	1554	Sir T. Moncrieffe, about	9 0 0
1	Bell,	1663	Presbytery of Perth, .	18 0 0
1	A. Yeaman, . . .	1669	St Mary's College, . .	7 0 0
1	P. Yeaman, . . .	1675	Rait of Anniston, . .	14 0 0
3	King William III.,	1693	Crown,	10 0 0
2	Alexander, ¹ . . .	1695	St Mary's College, . .	15 0 0
1	Stewart, ²	1811	St Mary's College, . .	10 0 0
2	Garvie,	1831	Presbytery of Perth, .	20 0 0

These bursaries are twenty in number ; and their joint value is about £220 per annum.

Bursaries belonging to the United College.

16	Bishop Kennedy,	1458	By competition, . .	£10 0 0
4	Prior Hepburn, .	1512	Principal of College, &c.,	10 0 0
1	Moncrieffe,	1554	Sir T. Moncrieffe, . .	5 11 1
1	Cupar,	1662	Town Council, Cupar, 4 bolls wheat.	
2	Wilkie,	1627	Doubtful,	9 0 0
2	Guild,	1656	Town Council, Dundee,	5 0 0
1	A. Yeaman, ³ . . .	1671	United College, . . .	8 4 11
1	P. Yeaman,	1675	Rait of Anniston, . .	14 0 0
2	Grant,	1678	Colonel Grant,	10 0 0
3	Ramsay, ⁴	1681	Sir A. Ramsay, about .	90 0 0
2	Ferguson,	1695	Provost of Dundee, &c.,	doubtful.
3	Bayne,	1695	Ferguson of Raith, . .	10 0 0
1	Glendee,	1697	Heirs of Dr A. Bell, .	6 0 0
2	Malcolm,	1708	Sir J. Malcolm, &c., .	5 14 1
1	Maxwell,	1751	Morrison of Naughton,	7 10 0
1	Henry,	1755	Presbytery of Kirkcaldy,	15 0 0
1	Mackay,	1807	Lord Reay,	15 0 0

¹ With a preference to the name of Alexander.

² With a preference to the names of Stewart and Simpson.

³ With a preference to the names of Yeaman and Kinnear.

⁴ Founded by Mr Ramsay, the Episcopal minister of Markinch, in the year 1681 ; with a preference to the names of Ramsay, Durham, Carnegie, and Lindsay.

No.	Founders' Names.	When founded.	Patrons.	Value of each.
2	Stewart, ¹	1811	United College,	10 0 0
1	Rorie,	1819	Colonel Playfair,	5 0 0
1	Thomson, ²	1820	Min' of West. Anstruther,	14 0 0
2	Gray,	1825	By competition,	10 0 0
5	Garth,	1828	University, &c.,	10 0 0
8	Bell, (see Ch. XII.)	1831	By competition, average,	12 10 0
1	Lawson, ³	—	Town Council, Dundee,	5 11 1

These bursaries are sixty-four in number, and their joint value is about £850 per annum.

No. VI.

CONTENTS OF THE REGISTER OF THE PRIORY OF ST ANDREWS,
RECENTLY PRINTED FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB, EDINBURGH.

Preliminary Observations.

The following is a mere outline of the contents of this curious volume, which extends to 432 quarto pages; but it may suffice to give the reader a general idea of its Monastic Registers.

The charters, bulls, conventions, memoranda, and other documents which make up the volume, are not arranged chronologically. I endeavoured at first to supply this defect; but after a fruitless attempt, I was obliged to adhere to the order of the Register. The dates of the various documents are seldom given, but I have supplied them, whenever collateral allusions enabled me to do so. The eras of the popes are easily determined; those of the bishops of St Andrews may be known by a reference to the first volume of this work; and the dates of the respective priors I have subjoined at the end of these observations.

All the charters, &c., are attested by numerous witnesses. In the lists of their names, the bishops of St Andrews always rank next after the king, when both are present. When a brother or son of the king is present, he ranks after the bishop; then follow the other bishops and church dignitaries; and after them the nobility, gentry, and commonalty. The property granted to the priory is usually

¹ With a preference to the names of Stewart and Simpson.

² With a preference to the names of Thomson and Reid.

³ With a preference to the names of Lawson and Gray.

stated to be “in pure and perpetual charity to God, the blessed Virgin, and the church of St Andrew the apostle in Scotland, and to the canons then serving, or who may hereafter serve;” and this is generally said to be done for the wellbeing (*pro salute*) of the soul of the donor, and those of his or her family, ancestors, successors, and connexions. Moreover, a curse is frequently denounced on those who may infringe or take away the grant. When a “church” is said to be given to the priory, it means the great tithes and other pertinents of the parish in which the church is situated; and these tithes are granted on the condition, expressed or understood, of the prior and canons appointing fit vicars for the cure of the souls of the parishioners; the vicars being answerable to them *de temporalibus*, but to the bishop of the diocese *de spiritualibus*. The tithe was then what it professed to be, not nominal and commuted, but the actual tenth of the produce of everything that was productive; or as we find it expressed in the canons of the church in the thirteenth century, corn, hay, flax, garden-herbs, mills, fish, animals and their young, wool, milk, cheese, chickens, eggs, merchandise, wages of labour, hunting, coppice-wood, and the fruit of trees.¹ Most of the money payments were payable, as is still the case in Scotland, one half at Pentecost or Whitsunday, and the other half at the feast of St Martin.

A good deal of confusion and uncertainty will be found to exist as to the names of places. The old names differ considerably from the modern ones; and the same place is often spelt three or four different ways in the same document. I have always subjoined the modern name, when I was sure of it.

What is named the “Register of the Priory of St Andrews,” contains also a register, in part at least, of the Augustinian priories of Lochleven, pp. 43, 113-117, 188; of Monymusk, p. 362-374; and of the Isle of May, p. 379-395; all of which were dependencies upon that of St Andrews. The allusions to the Culdees of Lochleven and Monymusk, will throw some new light on the history of these early Christians.

There are also four charters by Malcolm IV., p. 194-196, and five by King William, p. 210-212, concerning the “Hospital of St Andrews,” which is the same with what is elsewhere called the hospital of St Leonard. One of King William’s is, however, only a confirmation of an original charter by David I., which does not appear in the Register, but of which there is a well-executed facsimile in the preface, obtained from some other source.

In p. 139, there is a reference to the “brothers of the hospital

¹ Dalrymple’s Annals, vol. iii. Canons 34, 35, &c.

of Jerusalem in North Street." It appears from a title-deed in the year 1634,¹ containing a list of all the property belonging to the hospitalers and templars of Jerusalem, that this body had no less than ten tenements in St Andrews. The buildings on these tenements used to be distinguished by the cross of the order; but such marks are now all removed. In p. 193, in a charter of Malcolm IV., there is allusion made to the French, Flemish, and English then residing inside and outside of the city. In other charters, there are allusions to certain localities in the town and neighbourhood, which are now difficult or impossible to be traced. In pp. 144, 315, 422, is a curious reference to the farm of Balgove, near St Andrews. At that place there was, in the thirteenth century, a *salina*, or spot for the collection and manufacture of sea-salt; from which it may, perhaps, be concluded that the sea then came close up to the ridge on which the above farm is situated.

Among other historical facts brought to light, I may here also mention, an endowed school in this city, under the name of "the poor scholars of St Andrews," in the beginning of the thirteenth century, p. 316; which was two hundred years before Bishop Wardlaw's foundation, and perhaps formed the *nucleus* of the present university. In p. 115, we also find an allusion to the "Rector of the schools of Abernethy," so early as the eleventh century.

The members of the Anti-Slavery Society will be shocked to find, p. 262, one Christina, daughter of Walter Corbet, giving to the church of St Andrews, and the canons serving God there, a *slave* named Martin, with his sons and daughters, and their posterity, for ever; and this, too, for the wellbeing of the soul of the said Christina, and those of her father and mother, her ancestors and posterity.

Another thing, which will no doubt be read with interest, is the catalogue of the books in the little library of Lochleven priory in the middle of the twelfth century, p. 43.

The period of time embraced by the Register, extends from the tenth to the middle of the 15th century; for, though the priory of St Andrews was not founded till the twelfth century, that of Lochleven, a dependency upon it, was a much older foundation.

The volume in question can only be looked on as a copy of the original Register; and even this is incomplete. There can be no doubt of its accuracy, as far as it goes; but, as I have already remarked, there is very little order observed in the arrangement of the documents; they sometimes contain references to papers which are not given; churches and lands are frequently enumerated as

¹ Swan's History of Fife, App. A.

belonging to the priory, for which no charters appear ; and, what is more remarkable, there is no document of a later date than the middle of the fifteenth century ; which was a hundred years before the Reformation.

These defects are, however, partially supplied by a number of original papers and charters which were happily preserved by the industry of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne, and are to be seen in the Advocates' Library. Strictly speaking, the omissions in the volume of the Register should have been filled up from this source. I have carefully examined them, and, as far as they go, supplied this *desideratum*. But there is still much that is wanting, which it may be feared is irrecoverably lost.

The following is a list of the churches (or great tithes of parishes) belonging to the priory, with the names of the donors :—

- Trinity Church, St Andrews, given by Bishop Richard, p. 132.
- Lathrisk, by Nesius son of William, p. 254.
- Leuchars, by ditto, p. 237.
- Dairsey, by Bishop Arnold, p. 128.
- Forgan in Fife, by King David I., p. 187.
- Markinch, by Duncan earl of Fife, p. 242.
- Portmoak, by Bishop Arnold, p. 128.
- Cupar in Fife, by Duncan earl of Fife, p. 241.
- Scoonie, by ditto, p. 241.
- Kennoway, by Thirleswan, son of Colban, p. 258.
- Egglestreig, or St Cyrus, by Bishop Richard, p. 138.
- Rossie in Gowrie, or Rossieclerach, by Mathew archdeacon of St Andrews, p. 126.
- Inchsture, by Bishop Richard, p. 138.
- Forgan in Gowrie, (Longforgan,) by Bishop Roger, p. 153.
- Fowls, by Bishop Richard, p. 40.
- Linlithgow, by King David I., p. 136.
- Haddington, by ditto, p. 180.
- Bourtie, by William de Lamberton, p. 266.
- Tharfund, by Earl Morgund, p. 246.
- Miggaveth, by ditto, p. 248.
- Dull, by Malcolm earl of Atholl, p. 245.

These twenty-one are the only parishes for which we find regular charters in the Register, conveying them to the priory ; but in the lists of churches belonging to it, which frequently occur in the papal bulls and other documents, the eleven following are mentioned in addition :—Thelin, [Tealing,] Meigle, Abercrombie, Kilgour, Kinaldie, Auldeathy, Fordun, Strathmeiglo, Binning, Mucrosin,

and Tannadice; besides two churches in Ireland, Ruskath and Karlingsford, p. 118. These two last were given by Hugo de Lascy earl of Wilton; Kinaldie was given by Simon bishop of Moray; Kilgour, by Duncan the twelfth earl of Fife; and Fordun, by King Robert Bruce. Unfortunately, the Denmylne papers do not enable us to fill up any of the above blanks, except that they incidentally inform us that the church of Tealing was given to the priory by Hugo Giffard and William his son, and that the church of Meigle was bestowed by Simon de Meigle; see Nos. 1. and 2., Appendix VII.

Here I cannot help expressing my regret that, in the Statistical Account of Scotland, scarcely any pains have been taken to ascertain the ecclesiastical state of the parishes during the middle ages,—whether they were rectories or vicarages? and if the latter, which the greater number were; what bishoprics, monasteries, or religious fraternities drew their great tithes? We have a minute account of their meteorology, geology, zoology, schools, alehouses, manufactures, live stock, &c., &c.; but we know far less of their Christian history than we do of the mythology of Greece and Rome. The numerous junctions of parishes and chapelries which took place soon after the Reformation, should also have been pointed out.

I have now only to subjoin a list of the names and dates of the priors of St Andrews, premising only, that in p. 412 of the Register is a bull of Pope Martin V., authorizing the then prior, James Haldenstone, and his successors for ever, in consequence of “their church being more distinguished than any other in Scotland,” to wear the mitre, ring, pastoral staff, and other pontifical insignia, in all assemblies, civil and religious.

1. Robert, the first prior, was brought from England. He ruled 22 years, and died A.D.	1162
2. Walter succeeded, and resigned	1186
3. Gilbert succeeded, and died	1188
The above Walter resumed office, and died the same year	1188
4. Thomas succeeded, and died	1211
5. Simon succeeded, but was translated to the priory of Lochleven in	1225
6. Henry of Norham succeeded, and resigned	1236
7. John White succeeded, and died	1258
8. Gilbert II. do.	1263
9. John Haddenton, do.	1304
10. Adam Mauchane, do.	1313
11. John de Forfar, do.	1321
12. John de Gowry, do.	1340

13. William de Loudon, do.	1354
14. Thomas Bisset, resigned	1363
15. Stephen de Pay, succeeded and died	1385
16. Robert of Montrose, murdered	1395
17. James Bisset, succeeded and died	1416
18. William de Camera, succeeded and died	1417
— John Lyster, appointed by Benedict XIII., but set aside.	
19. James Haldenston, succeeded and died	1443
20. William Bonar, do.	1462
21. David Ramsay, do.	1469
22. William Carron, do.	1482
23. John Hepburn, do.	1522
24. Patrick Hepburn succeeded, and, on being made Bishop of Moray, resigned	1535
25. Lord James Stewart succeeded, when a child. Alex- ander Milne abbot of Cambuskenneth, administered for him till he was of age. He assisted in plundering and destroying his own monastery, and was killed	1570

After this, the commendators, or titular priors, were, successively

26. Robert Stewart, till his death in	1586
27. The Crown, till	1588
28. Duke of Lennox, ¹ till	1635
29. Archbishop of St Andrews, till the Rebellion,	1639
30. University, till the Restoration,	1661
31. Archbishop of St Andrews, till the Revolution,	1688
32. The Crown, in which the property is at present vested.	

An account of each prior and commendator is embodied
in the general history. See also vol. ii. chap. vi.

Since my first volume was printed, the Register of “the Abbey of

¹ I find that John and James, sons of James Meldrum of Segy, obtained pensions, I know not through what channel, from the priory property of St Andrews. These were ratified to them by parliament in 1592; against which ratification the Duke of Lennox protested, as did also James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, where part of the said property was situated, and who, I suppose, thought he had a preferable title to it. *Acta Parl. Jacob. VI. vol. iii. p. 600.* In four years after, the king in council, having stated that the priory property had become “sa dilapidat and exhaustit by the giving and granting of pensions furth of the samyn for many yearis, and divers life-rentis to endure, sa that lytil remains of the said patrimonie with his deerist cousing Lodouick duik of Levenox commendator of the said priorie,” &c : therefore his majesty gives him leave to feu out the same in such a manner as would be more advantageous to himself than to his successors.

the Holy Trinity, and St Margaret the queen, of Dunfermline," has been printed for the Bannatyne Club. This abbey was situated within the diocese of St Andrews; most of whose bishops and priors are mentioned in its register, as either granting or confirming charters, or witnessing the same. Many of these are dated here. They throw little new light on the facts connected with the metropolitan see; but they confirm, in the most satisfactory manner, the dates which I have given in my work, as procured from the Register of our own priory, and other sources. I may merely mention the following as nearer *approximations* to accuracy of date than could have been determined before. There is a charter, p. 64, by Bishop Malvoisine, in A.D. 1237. Bishop Abel confirms a charter, p. 198, in October 1254. Bishop Gameline was only elect in December 1255, p. 120. Bishop Lamberton was at St Andrews in 1300, p. 73. See, under these years, in the first volume of my history. I may add that, in the Register of Dunfermline, there is repeated mention made of the *schools* of Perth and Stirling in the twelfth century.

I now proceed to give the contents of the Register of our priory. The numerical references are to the pages of the printed volume.

- 1 Description of the boundaries of the lands of Kirkness, in the parish of Ballingry.
- 2 Instrument of perambulation between the baronies of Kirkness, belonging to the Priory of Lochleven,¹ and Lochore, belonging to Robert de Livingstone and John de Boswell, in the presence of Robert Stewart duke of Albany; Walter Trail bishop of St Andrews; Alexander Man bishop of Caithness; and Andrew de Wyntoun² prior of Lochleven, A.D. 1395.
- 6 Instrument of process against William de Barclay, conducted before Bishop Trail, at the instance of Andrew de Wyntoun, for the recovery of rents due from the lands of Balgoyne, A.D. 1400.
- 11 Transumpt concerning the lands of Balgoyne. In this document mention is made of the volume from which this "Register" is now, for the first time, printed. It is under the title of "Liber cartarum munimentorum, dotium, donatium, terrarum, reddituum, ecclesiarum, decimarum, et quarundam libertatum dat' et concess' prioratibus ecclesie cathedralis Sancti Andree."
- 15 Another document concerning the same case. Andrew de

¹ Kirkness had been given to the priory by Macbeth and his queen. See p. 114 of the Register.

² The well-known author of the "Chronicle."

- Wyntoun prosecutes, "in the parish church of St Leonard, within the city of St Andrews," A.D. 1413.
- 19 A. Wyntoun's petition for redress to Bishop Wardlaw, against William de Berkeley, A.D. 1411.
 - 21 Citation against William de Berkeley.
 - 23 Fordun's account of the rank of the priors of St Andrews. See p. 412.
 - 24 Bishop Kennedy having stated to Pope Nicholas V. that the inhabitants of St Andrews did not grow olive oil, nor could obtain it, except at great expense, but that they had plenty of butter and other lactile substances, his holiness gives them leave to use these during Lent, without scruple or fault.
 - 26 Whereas John [White] prior of St Andrews, had obtained letters from the pope, enjoining the Bishop of Brechin, and two others, to summon before them David [Bernham] bishop of St Andrews, and the Provost of the Culdees of the same city, regarding some disputed rents, the said letters are withdrawn, in consequence of the death of Bernham, A.D. 1253.
 - 27 Two mutilated documents. The first is respecting the rent of a property which Lawrence archdeacon of St Andrews, had obtained from the prior and canons, on the road between St Andrews and Dairsey. The second is too imperfect to be understood.
 - 28 Taxations or rents of the Scottish bishoprics. See vol. i. p. 97.
 - 28-38 Taxations or rents of the parish churches in the diocese of St Andrews. The number of the churches is 235, besides those belonging to the priory.
 - 39 Taxations or rents of the monasteries in the diocese of St Andrews. The number of these is incomplete.
 - 40 Convention between Prior Gilbert and the canons, and Bernard Fraser and the heirs of Drem, p. 322.
 - Grant of the church of Fouls, by W. Masculus to his nephew, on condition of his paying one mark yearly to the priory, A.D. 1180.
 - 41 Confirmation of the same by the successor of W. Masculus.
 - 42 Pope Innocent [II.] gives to Prior Robert and the canons, liberty to buy various necessities without payment of duty.
 - 43 Bishop Robert conveys to Prior Robert the revenues of Lochleven priory, consisting of lands, villas, mills, tithes, certain quantities of cheese, barley, and pigs from different farms; also vestments, and certain *books*, or sets of books, which are enumerated in the following order :—A Pastoral—a Gradual—a Missal—an Origin (*cum origine*, perhaps the works of Origen)—Sentences

of the Abbot of Clairvaux—three quartos on the Sacraments—part of a Bibliotheca—a Lectionarium—the Acts of the Apostles—the text of the Gospels *prospero* (perhaps according to Prosper bishop of Rhegium)—three books of Solomon—Notes on the Songs of the Canticles—the Interpretations of Words—a Collection of Sentences—an Exposition of Genesis—Exceptions from Ecclesiastical Rules.

44 Malcom earl of Fife, gives Admore to the priory, A.D. 1245.

— Bishop Hugh gives it half a silver mark¹ annually from the mill of Dairsey.

54 Bishop Roger exchanges Duf-Cupar for Dairsey.

47 Pope Lucius II. confirms to Prior Robert and the canons all their property, A.D. 1144.

48 Pope Eugenius III. does the same, and desires that the regular canons should succeed the Culdees, A.D. 1147.

51 Pope Adrian IV. similar to the foregoing. He denounces a solemn curse on all who should contravene his bull, and pronounces a blessing on all who obey it, A.D. 1156.

53 Pope Alexander III. similar to the foregoing, A.D. 1163.

56 Pope Lucius III. similar, A.D. 1183.

62 Pope Gregory VIII. similar, A.D. 1187.

67 Pope Clement III. Episcopus, &c.² “To our beloved sons the prior and canons of the church of St Andrews, as well present as future, who are obliged to profess a regular life. It is fit that we should furnish our willing assent to holy desires, in order that devotion may produce a speedy result, and that in proportion as any one promotes the observance of religion, and other good deeds, so he may be encouraged by the holy see in his pious purpose. On which account, we gladly assent to your petition; and agreeably to the example of our predecessors of pious memory, the Roman pontiffs, Lucius [II.,] Eugenius [III.,] Adrian [IV.,] Alexander [III.,] Lucius [III.,] and Gregory [VIII.,] we take under the protection of St Peter and ourselves, the aforesaid church of St Andrew the apostle in Scotland, in which you are bound to divine obedience, and we strengthen the same by the authority of this confirmation: decreeing, in the first place, that the canonical order which is instituted in the said church, according to God and the rule of St Augustine, be faithfully observed in all time coming. And whatever property or goods the said church at present justly and canonically possesses, or

¹ A silver mark at that time was equal to £10 of our present money.

² I have given this as a specimen of the foregoing and following bulls. They are all almost *verbatim* alike,

may hereafter obtain, under the divine blessing, by the grants of popes, or by the bounty of kings and noblemen, or the oblations of the faithful, or by any other lawful means, shall remain with you and your successors free and untouched : and these possessions we have caused to be particularized as follows : The place itself in which the said church is situated, with all its pertinents ; the abbey of Lochleven, with all its lands and pertinents ; the hospital of St Andrews for the reception of poor pilgrims, with its lands and possessions, its rents and pertinents ; also, whatever the kings of Scotland, of pious memory, namely, David and Malcolm [IV.], bestowed on your church, and confirmed by authentic writings ; the church of Linliden, [Linlithgow,] with its lands and houses, both in and out of the town, together with the chapels, tithes, and school, and all the rights pertaining to the same ; the church of Foregrund, [Forgan in Fife,] with the toft and land adjacent ; the church of Hadinton, [Haddington,] with the villa which is called Clerkington, with its chapels, and all its pertinents ; the church of Markinge, [Markinch,] with the same ; the church of Sconin, [Scoonie,] with the same ; the church of Kinnakin, [Kenuoway,] with the same ; the church of Portmoog, [Portmoak,] with the same ; the church of Egglestreig, [now St Cyrus,] with the same ; the church of Dervesin, [Dairsey,] with the same ; the church of Cupre, [Cupar Fife,] with the same ; the church of St Andrews of the Holy Trinity, with the same ; the church of Loschresc, [Lathriak ;] the church of Lochres, [Leuchars,] with the same ; the church of Inchethor, [Inchsture,] with the same ; the church of Fowls, with the same ; the church of Tarvalund, [Tarland,] with the same ; the church of Miggaveth, with the same ; the church of Mucrosin, with the same ; the church of Tanathes, [Tannadice,] with the same ; the church of Miggel, [Meigle,] with the chapel and ecclesiastical villa belonging to it, and all its rents and pertinents ; the pentecostal oblations through Lothian and Scotia,¹ which Richard, your late bishop, gave you ; the whole oblations of the altar, which you serve, free and entire, without any distribution of its parts, conceded to you by the said Richard ; the grange of Balloden, with all the lands pertaining thereto ; the grange of Stradkinness, with the same ; the grange of Drumcarin, with the same ; the grange of Adnachtin, [Naughton,] with the same ;

¹ At this time all the country to the south of the Forth was named *Laodonia*, and all to the north of it *Scotia*.

the mills of the whole parish of St Andrews; the church of Kinador, [Kinaldie?] the gift of Simon bishop of Moray; the church of Rossin, [Rossie,] with its lands, and mill, and pertinents, the gift of H. Giffard; twenty solidi annually, the gift of Alan son of Walter; a toft in Rutherglen, and a half carucate of land at Dundovenald, the gift of Walter son of Alan; ten solidi annually, the gift of Henry Luvel; two ox-gangs¹ of land in the territory of Hawwick, [Hawick,] the gift of Merleswan; the land of Kinnuc, [Kilmucks,] near Kinnakin; and all the land which you hold in the towns of Berwick, Rokesburg, Hadinton, Edenesburg, Strivelin, [Stirling,] and Perth, the gifts of kings and other faithful men; the holding of your court, with its liberties and immunities, and the determining of all pleas and complaints, granted by bishops and kings, as freely and honourably as any other church or hospital in Scotland; together with the privilege which the illustrious King David gave you, that no one should distrain your goods or lands on account of any debt or forfeiture; which privilege we confirm, and think should remain untouched in all time coming. Farther, we permit that you have the free election of your prior, as well as of your bishop, according to the canonical sanctions; and that in the election of the bishop, the prior have the first voice; remembering that to the new prior, as was directed by Robert of pious memory, formerly your bishop, you make due profession of obedience. Nor shall it be lawful to add any one to your number, unless the major or wiser part of the monastery consent thereto. We desire, also, that the regular canons of your church be substituted

- for the Culdees as they die off, and their lands and rents be applied to your use. No one shall take from you the tithe of your cattle, or of the lands which you cultivate with your own hands, or at your own expense. When there is a general interdict in the country, it shall be permitted to you, when you have excluded the excommunicated, to perform divine service; but with closed gates, in a suppressed voice, and without any ringing of bells. Also we grant to you a free right of sepulture; so that no one shall oppose your burying those who, in their last moments, may desire to be laid in your cemetery, if they be not interdicted or excommunicated; saving always the rights of those churches who may have a claim on the bodies of the deceased. Moreover, it shall be lawful for you to elect

¹ A bovat or ox-gang of land was as much as a pair of oxen could plough.

¹ Eight ox-gangs were equal to one carucate, or about 100 acres.

fit chaplains for your churches, when vacant, and to present them to the bishop, to whom he shall commit the cure of souls; so that they shall be answerable to him in spiritual things, but to you in temporal things. And farther, we forbid that within the precincts of your chapels or granges, any one should be guilty of theft or rapine, raise fire, commit murder, or exercise any violence. And by our apostolical authority we enjoin, that no ecclesiastical or secular person whatever, claim to himself any power over the rents and fruits of your churches, contrary to the rights of the church; and that no bishop or archbishop, or their officials, presume to issue a sentence of excommunication or interdict against you or your church, without manifest and urgent cause. Moreover, it shall be lawful for you to place in your churches four or three of your canons, one of whom shall be presented to the diocesan bishop, that he may commit to him the cure of souls, so that he may be answerable to him *de spiritualibus*, but to you *de temporalibus*, and the observance of order. Also we confirm the liberties which bishop Robert, the founder of your church, and his successors Arnold and Richard, granted to you, which liberties you have hitherto preserved, and which we decree to remain unimpaired in all time coming. We therefore appoint that it shall be unlawful for any one to disturb your church, or seize, or withhold, or diminish its possessions, or interfere with them unjustly or vexatiously; but they shall be preserved for the profitable purposes for which they were bestowed—the authority of the apostolical see, and the canonical right of the diocesan bishop being maintained. If, therefore, any ecclesiastical or secular person, knowing this our decree, shall rashly contravene it, having been a second and third time admonished, let him be accursed, unless he correct his presumption by due satisfaction; and let him know that he stands accused, by the divine judgment, of committing wickedness; that he estranges himself from the sacramental body and blood of God and our Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ; and exposes himself in his last moments to severe vengeance. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all those who keep his holy commandments; and if they bring forth the fruit of good deeds in sincerity, may they experience the rewards of eternal peace. Amen, amen, amen! Teach me, O God! to do thy will. Holy Peter! Holy Paul!” Signed by Pope Clement, two bishops, and seven cardinals. A.D. 1187.

- 71 Pope Innocent III., similar to the foregoing, A.D. 1206.
- 76 Pope Honorius III., similar to the foregoing, A.D. 1216.
- 81 Pope Alexander [IV. ?] similar to the foregoing; with the additional clause, that they should have permission to chant the *Te Deum* and *Gloria in excelsis*, on the anniversary of the feast of St Andrew, under all circumstances.
- 82 Pope Alexander III. confirms to the prior and canons the church of Dairsey.
- 83 Alexius, the pope's legate, restores to them the church of Dairsey, which one Jocelinus had accepted from Bishop Hugo at the time he was excommunicated.
- Pope Lucius III. confirms to them the church of Haddington.
- 84 The same pope, respecting the dispute between the contending bishops, Hugh and John.¹
- 85 Pope Innocent III. guards some of their privileges, and forbids any new churches or chapels to be built within their parishes, without his or the bishop's consent.
- The same pope confirms to them the church of Leuchars.
- 87 Pope Honorius III. desires the Scottish bishops not to oppress them with undue exactions, or to suspend or excommunicate their vicars, but to protect them from all injury, so that they may not be forced to appeal to Rome.
- 86 The same pope desires that no bishop or archdeacon may oppress them; that no decimæ or primitiæ be demanded from them; and that they be not excommunicated without the concurrence of their prior.
- 88 Pope Gregory IX. confirms to them the church of Dull.
- 89 Pope Innocent III. exempts them from all but direct Roman jurisdiction.
- 90 The same pope commands that no one excommunicate or interdict them but by special mandate of the holy see.
- The same pope directs that they be not compelled to furnish any one with pensions or benefices out of their property, unless by papal mandate.
- 91 The same pope orders the Bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen, to tax certain vicars in their dioceses.
- 92 Pope Innocent IV. confirms to the prior and canons their property, and empowers them to receive persons into their monastery when flying from the civil authorities.
- 95 The same pope confirms to them the church of Dull.
- 96 The same pope permits them to receive refugees into their number, if they desire it, after being absolved.

¹ See vol. i. p. 89-96.

- 97 The same pope forbids the laity and others, who feu their property, to sub-feu it without their consent.
 — The same pope exempts them from paying any toll or custom to lay persons, when sending their goods or cattle from one place to another.
- 98 The same pope forbids their being burdened with pensions without the consent of the Roman see.
 — The same pope issues a long bull similar to some of the foregoing ones.
- 103 The same pope issues another similar one, with a few additional clauses, A.D. 1248.
- 106 Bishop William [Malvoisin] confirms to them the church of Adnathan [Naughton] which Alan de Lascels had given them.
- 107 The same bishop admits, on the presentation of the priory, Richard de Thouni, to the church of Forgan in Fife, saving the right of Gervasius de Nealfa, who is to hold the same church, during his life, as vicar, with the chapel of Adnathan, amounting to 20 silver marks annually.
 — The archdeacon of St Andrews concurs in the same.
- 108 Patricius de Haya and Marjory de Lascels give "the mother-church of Adnathan, viz. of Forgan in Fife, with the chapel of Adnathan adjoining the said church," to the prior and canons.
- 109 The above Marjory's confirmation of the same, A.D. 1266.
 — Confirmation by Alexander her son and heir, A.D. 1268.
- 110 Pope Innocent V. confirms to them their property.
- 111 Pope Lucius III. orders the "bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, and other prelates of Scotland," to root out the bad men who may seek to plunder them.
 — W. de Kilconcath bishop of Brechin, testifies to the accuracy of the bull of Innocent III. (see p. 90) quoting the words that they are subject to none but Rome, A.D. 1276.¹
- 113 The Culdees of Lochleven make over their monastery to the care of Fothad son of Bren bishop of St Andrews, (about A.D. 930) vol. i. p. 44.
- 114 Macbeth son of Finloch, and Gruoch daughter of Bodhe, king and queen of Scotland, give Kirkness, free from all imposts, to the Culdees of Lochleven, for the benefit of their prayers, vol. i. p. 47.
- 115 Edgar son of Malcolm III., gives Petnemokin to the same Culdees.

¹ In the printed Register there is a fac-simile of the original of this document.

- 115 Malcolm III. and Queen Margaret give Balchristie to the same.
- Edelradus son of Malcolm III., abbot of Dunkeld and earl of Fife, gives Admore [Achmore] to the same; his brothers Alexander and David assenting to the grant, because he was under age. Among the witnesses are "Berbeadh, rector of the schools of Abernethy, and the whole population of Abernethy." The curse of God, and of the Virgin, and of all the saints, is denounced against those who should revoke or diminish the said grant; "and all the people answered amen."¹
- 116 Bishop Maldwin gives the church of Markinch, and its pertinents, to the same.
- Bishop Twaldra gives the church of Scoonie, and its pertinents, to the same.
- 117 Bishop Modach son of Malmykel, gives the church of Hurkyndorath [Auchterderran] to the same, vol. i. p. 49.
- The Culdees complain to King David that one Robert de Burgonensis had plundered them. The king sends messengers through Fife and Forthrif, and assembles Constantine earl of Fife, with his followers, Macbeth thane of Fallowland, and two (Culdean) bishops, Budadh and Slogadadh, with soldiers. They examine into the complaint, and find the defendant guilty.
- 118 Hugo de Lacy gives to the priory two churches in Ireland, viz., Ruskath, and Karlingford.
- 119 Henry king of England, and *dominus Hibernie*, confirms the same.
- 120 Bishop Lamberton gives to the priory the church of Dairsey, and the land of Duf-Cupar, A.D. 1300.
- 121 Prior John [White] and the canons give to the priory of Lochleven certain property near it, reserving to themselves the right of appointing the prior, who shall answer to the bishop *de spiritualibus*, but to them *de temporalibus*, and the observance of order, A.D. 1248.
- 122 Bishop Robert gives to Prior Robert and his canons a great variety of property. This document is the foundation-charter of the priory, and is dated 1144. The following are its concluding words: "Whosoever helps to preserve this grant to the church and canons, let him rejoice that he is to join the

¹ See a long note respecting this charter in Dalrymple's Annals, vol. i. p. 49; and another in Sibbald's History of Fife, p. 225. Our antiquaries are greatly puzzled to be told, *first*, how this Edelradus could be Comes de Fyfe at all; and *secondly*, how one of the witnesses to this very charter should also designate himself as "Constantine Comes de Fife." This Edelradus was buried at St Andrews. See vol. i. p. 51.

society of the holy apostle Andrew, and his brother apostles, the founders and defenders of the church, and all the Saints ; but if he molest this church by violence, or rob it by fraud, he will stand accused and condemned before the tribunal of the righteous judge. I Robert, bishop, confirm, by my episcopal authority, this my donation ; and for the memory and reverence thereof, sign it with the impression of the divine cross, and also with the attestation of my own seal."

- 124 The same bishop gives them a toft in Kilrimund, [St Andrews.]
— The same bishop gives them three tofts.
- 125 The same bishop gives them the oblations of the altar, *minus* a seventh part.
— The same bishop gives them Kinniemonth, and a toft in Kilrimund.
- 126 The same bishop gives them the free election of their prior.
— Bishop Arnold confirms to them Rossinlerach, [Rossie.] with its church, which Mathew the archdeacon had given them.
- 127 The same bishop gives them a piece of land in St Andrews, which is "between the town and the new hospital."
- 128 The same bishop gives them Portmoak.
— The same bishop gives them the church of Dairsey.
- 129 The same bishop gives them the whole oblations of the altar, because they were living together in common—*communitur viventes*.
- 130 The same bishop confirms to them their various properties. This document is signed by forty witnesses, beginning with William bishop of Moray ; Gregory bishop of Dunkeld ; Samson bishop of Brechin ; Andrew bishop of Caithness ; Herbert bishop of Glasgow ; Mathew and Thor archdeacons of St Andrews ; Gaufréd abbot of Dunfermline ; Alured abbot of Stirling ; William abbot of Holyrood ; Alured abbot of Newbottle ; William abbot of Melrose ; John abbot of Kelso ; Osbert abbot of Jedburgh ; Isaac prior of Scone ; Robert prior of May, &c., &c.
- 132 Bishop Richard gives them the parish church of St Andrews.
- 133 The same bishop gives them the pentecostal oblations.
- 134 The same bishop gives them a toft in St Andrews, which had belonged to his sister Avicia.
— The same bishop gives them the land of both Straithies.
- 135 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Haddington and the land of Clerkington.
- 136 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Lathrisk.
- 137 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Cupar.
— The same bishop confirms to them the church of Kennoway.

- 138 The same bishop gives them the church of Egglestreig.
 — The same bishop gives them the church of Inchsture and chapel of Kinnaird.
- 139 The same bishop confirms to them a toft in St Andrews, "next to that of the brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem in North Street." -
- 140 The same bishop gives them Helin or Sluthagh, in exchange for Portmoak and Ernoch.
 — The same bishop gives them certain other lands.
- 141 The same bishop gives them certain lands for completing and upholding the "new work;" probably the cathedral.
 — The same bishop confirms to them former grants.
- 144 Bishop Hugo confirms to them their various properties. In this charter mention is made of Balgove *cum salina*. See pp. 315, 422.
- 147 The same bishop similar to the foregoing.
- 149 Bishop Roger similar to the foregoing.
- 153 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Haddington.
 — The same bishop gives them the church of Forgan in Gowrie. He dates in "the third year of our pontificate."
- 154 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Portmoak.
 — Bishop W. [Malvoisin] confirms to them the church of Adnachton. The same as in p. 106.
- 155 The same bishop confirms to them the churches of Kilrimund and Lithlithgow.
- 156 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Lathrisk and the chapel of Kettle; the fruits to be applied to the construction of the cathedral, saving the right of Roger de Huntingford, after whose death the canons must appoint a vicar who should be answerable to the bishop *de spiritualibus*.
- 157 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Fowls.
- 158 The same bishop gives to the vicar of Haddington the oblations of the whole parish, all the tithe of trade and merchandise, and of cattle-births (ortorum) within the burgh, half the tithe of hay, and the vicarage-house. The rest to go to the priory of St Andrews.
- 159 The same bishop gives the vicar the same as above, with some additional tithes.
- 160 The same bishop binds the church of Scoonie, through its vicar, to pay twenty marks annually towards building the cathedral.
 — The same bishop confirms to the prior and canons the pentecostal oblations of his whole diocese, on the condition of their applying them to carrying on the cathedral.

- 161 Bishop David [Bernham] confirms to them the church of Forgan in Gowrie.
- 162 A dispute having arisen between the priory and John, son and heir of Duncan de Inchesreth, [Inchyra,] regarding Rossinclerach, and the patronage of its church, the above bishop decides that the land shall belong to the latter on paying to the former one *modium* of wine, and one silver mark annually; but that the patronage of the church shall remain with the priory, A.D. 1240.
- 163 The same bishop confirms to the prior and canons the church of Rossinclerach.
- 164 The same bishop confirms to them the victual-tithe (omnes decimas garbarum) of the church of Leuchars, A.D. 1240.
- 165 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Kennoway, on the death of Peter son of George earl of Caballiac, A.D. 1240.
- 166 The same bishop confirms to them the churches of Cupar, Markinch, and Egglestreig, A.D. 1240.
- 167 The same bishop confirms to them the churches of Haddington and Linlithgow, A.D. 1240.
- 168 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Scoonie, to be applied to the construction of the cathedral, A.D. 1241.
- 169 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Linlithgow, with the chapels of Binin and Retrevyn, A.D. 1246.
- 170 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Fowls.
- 171 Bishop Gameline confirms their right of electing their prior.
— The same bishop confirms to them the church of the Holy Trinity in Kilrimund [St Andrews.]
- 173 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Lathrisk and the chapel of Kettle.
- 174 The same bishop authorizes them to possess the church of Forgan in Fife, and its chapel of Adnathan, on the death or resignation of Hugo de Strivilin, A.D. 1269.
- 175 Bishop Richard confirms to them the priory of Lochleven, Kirkness, Admore, Balchristie, Bolgyn, Markinch, Scoonie, and Orkie, and also "our own house in the island, with its pertinents."
— Prior Henry [of Norham] and the canons confirm to the canons of Lochleven the church of Hotermunesin, [Auchtermoonzie?] which Bishop Malvoisin gave them for the support of pilgrims.
- 176 The same prior exempts the hospital near the bridge of Lochleven for the reception of pilgrims, from the payment of various tithes, saving the rights of the church of Portmoak.

- 176 Prior John Haddenton and the canons give to Peter de Campana the barony of Kirkness, being part payment of £100 sterling of pension which Bishop Fraser had engaged to pay him, and which engagement they are to fulfil to him and his heirs for one year after his death.
- 178 John abbot of Dunfermline, and his chapter, exempt the priory from the payment of one silver mark annually, to which they had been entitled.
- Bishop Gameline confirms the property and privileges which the priory had granted to the canons of Lochleven.
- 179 Bishop Richard confirms to the prior and canons various properties near St Andrews.
- 180 William de Lindsay confirms to the church of St Giles's de Binnin, the half carucate of land which his ancestor gave to it.
- King David gives to the priory the church of Haddington.
- 181 The same king annexes Clerkington to Haddington.
- 182 The same king gives it *unam aquam*, and a toft in Berwick.
- 183 The same king gives it the free range of a net in the river Tay.
- The same king forbids any one to distrain the canons' property on account of debt or forfeiture.
- The same king commands the Sheriff of Clackmannan to allow them to take materials from Clackmannan wood for the use of their buildings.
- 184 The same king gives them a toft in Clackmannan.
- The same king gives them a toft in Berwick.
- 185 The same king gives them a toft in Haddington.
- The same king gives them forty solidi annually from his kane of ships at Perth.
- 186 The same king allows them to admit into their body the Culdees of St Andrews, on the condition of their conforming to their rules; if not, the canons to succeed them at their death.
- The same king gives them the church of Linlithgow, to be applied to the lighting of their cathedral.
- 187 The same king gives them the church of Forgan in Fife.
- The same king gives a toft to one Baldwin, on condition of his paying 1 turet and 2 coleres annually. See p. 204.
- 188 The same king gives anything that is over from the church of Linlithgow, after lighting the cathedral of St Andrews, to the ministers of its altar. See p. 186.
- The same king allows the Culdees to remain at Lochleven on their conforming to the order of the regular canons.
- 189 The same king confirms to Prior Robert and the canons, Kin-nimonth and a toft in Kilrimund.

- 189 The same king confirms to them various properties.
- 191 Henry, the king's son, bestows on the church of Haddington some additional grants.
- 192 The same prince confirms his father's grants to the priory of St Andrews.
- 193 King David gives his *firma pax* to the brothers of the hospital of St Andrews. See p. 139.
- Malcolm [IV.] confirms various grants to the priory. He alludes to the Scotch, French, Flemish, and English then living in and outside of the town of St Andrews.
- 194 The same king confirms a grant of pasturage to the hospital of St Andrews.
- 195 The same king confirms to it other privileges.
- The same king gives it a carucate of land.
- 196 The same king gives its brothers his *firma pax*, and exempts them from arrest for debt.
- The same king gives the priory a carucate of land in Melchrethry.
- 197 The same king gives it the track of a net in the water of Perth.
- The same king confirms to it the church of Forgan.
- 198 The same king confirms to it all the portions of the altar of St Andrews.
- 199 The same king confirms to it the above portions, "which, in Bishop Arnold's days, were divided into seven parts."
- The same king gives it power to arrest and recover *fugitivos* [its slaves?] wherever they may be found.
- 200 The same king confirms to it whatever King David and Mathew the archdeacon gave it, viz. Rossen, [Rossey,] Kinne-mont, Kinkellet, [Kinkell,] Innergelly, &c.
- The same king confirms to it the church of Rossinclerach.
- 201 The same king confirms to it *unam aquam* in Berwick.
- The same king confirms to it the chapel of Inchsture.
- 202 The same king commands his sheriffs to assist the prior and canons in collecting their tithes.
- The same king orders that they and their property may be embarked and disembarked without payment of duty.
- 203 The same king confirms the agreement made between them and the Culdees.
- The same king gives to one Baldwin a piece of land in Perth.
- 204 The same king gives the priory the land of the said Baldwin, and the buildings upon it.
- The same king gives this Baldwin a toft in Perth, on paying 1 turet and 2 coleres annually. See p. 187.

- 205 The same king gives the prior and canons a half carucate of land in the shire of Forgan.
- The same king confirms to them former grants, A.D. 1160.
- 207 The Countess Ada, the mother of the king, gives them a toft in Haddington.
- 208 The same countess gives them two pieces of land in Crail.
- The same countess gives them the whole land of Pithmulin, [Pitmilley,] and common pasture in Mhora.
- 209 The same countess gives them 1 silver mark yearly, towards the building of the cathedral; and when that is finished, for the lighting of the same for ever; to be paid by Malisius de Pithmulin out of the lands which he holds of her.
- 210 King William confirms the above grants of his mother.
- The same king gives free pasturage to the cattle of the hospital of St Andrews.¹
- 211 The same king gives the brothers of the said hospital his *firma pax*, and confirms to them the land of Kenlekin, [Kenly,] which David I. had given them.
- The same king exhorts all persons to pay the brothers their just debts, and to be charitable to them.
- 212 The same king confirms to them the carucate of land in Chathelach, [Kedloch,] which one Simon gave them, pasture for twenty-four animals and thirty two-year-olds; and exemption from all taxes, except the *regium geldum*, which was payable on all the lands of Scotland.
- 213 The same king confirms to the prior and canons all former grants.
- 217 The same king confirms to them the land called Malsnaugh, near St Andrews, which was given by Bishop Richard.
- The same king confirms to them the pentecostal oblations given by the above bishop.
- 218 The same king confirms to them the church of St Cyrus de Egglesgreig.
- The same king confirms to them the church of Inchsture, and the chapel of Kinnaird.
- 219 The same king confirms to them the constitution of the church and monastery “de insula,” [Lochleven.]
- The same king conveys to them the priory of Lochleven.
- 220 The same king confirms to them the churches of Scoonie and

¹ The original of this grant is in St Andrews. It is a piece of parchment six inches long by one broad. William's seal is appended, in white wax, having upon it the king sitting in a chair, with a globe in one hand, and a sword in the other.

- Markinch, and the chapel of Kettle, which were given by Duncan earl of Fife.
- 220 The same king confirms to them the church of Tharfund, which was given by Earl Morgun.
- 221 The same king confirms to them a toft in Berwick.
- 222 The same king confirms to them the church of Haddington.
— The same king confirms to them the church of Forgan.
- 223 The same king confirms to them the churches of Cupar and Strathmiglo, given by Duncan earl of Fife.
- 224 The same king confirms to them the church of Lathrisk, given by Nesius son of William.
— The same king confirms to them the half of Hadgillan in Dundee, and ten solidi annually from the other half, given by Hugo Giffard.
- 225 The same king commands his sheriffs and others to assist the canons in obtaining their tithes and other rights.
— The same king admits them to his *firma pax* and protection.
- 226 The same king confirms to them the annual silver mark, and a toft in Crail, which his mother, Countess Ada, gave them for building and lighting the cathedral, p. 209.
— The same king confirms to them two carucates of land in Garviach, which King David gave.
- 227 The same king orders his foresters of Banchory to allow the canons to cut down as much wood as they required for their buildings.
— The same king confirms to them the land of Adhebreeces, which Walter son of Philip gave, p. 264; and which they are to hold as freely as the brothers of the hospital and of the temple everywhere hold their grants.
- 228 The same king gives them forty solidi annually from his burgh of Crail, for lighting their church.
— The same king gives the brethren of the hospital of St Andrews a silver mark annually, from his burgh of Crail, instead of the one which was wont to be received from Vetermuke-thin.¹
- 229 The same king confirms to the prior and canons the church of Eggesgreig, the abbey land, common pasturage, &c.
- 230 The same king confirms to them various churches which had been previously granted.
- 232 King Alexander [II.] confirms to them their various properties.
- 236 The same king gives them liberty to purchase, free of all customs and duties.

¹ The original of this document still exists in St Andrews.

- 237 Earl David, the king's brother, gives them the land of Forgan, about which there had been some dispute.
- 238 The same earl remits to them the whole kane and men-service from Eggesgreig, which they owed him.
- The same earl gives them a toft in Dundee, and one silver mark annually.
- 239 The same earl gives them two carucates of land in Kinalchmund, which is called Segyden.
- 240 Earl David's son confirms the above grants.
- 241 Duncan earl of Fife¹ gives them the church of Scoonie.
- The same earl gives them the church of Cupar.
- 242 The same earl gives them the church of Markinch.
- 243 The same earl gives them the chapel of Kettle.
- The same earl gives them leave to construct a mill-pond on his ground of Nidy, on the south side of the river Heden, [Eden.]
- 244 Malcolm earl of Fife, son of the above Duncan, confirms to them the foregoing grants.
- 245 The same earl confirms to them the church of Markinch, and a toft of one acre.
- Malcolm earl of Atholl gives them the church of Dull.
- 246 Henry, son of the above, confirms the same.
- Morgrund earl of Mar, gives them the church of Tharfund, with various pertinents. He and his Countess Agnes are to be carried to St Andrews after their death, and be buried in the cemetery of the canons. Richard bishop of St Andrews is the first witness.
- 248 The same earl gives them the church of St Finnan of Migaveth.
- The same earl gives them half a carucate of land at Innerinhe.
- 249 Agnes countess of Mar confirms the two above grants.
- 250 William Cumyn earl of Buchan, gives them a half-mark of silver yearly, from the farm of Invermer; and, if ever the farm is sold, it shall be burdened with the same.
- 251 The same earl confirms to them the church of Kennoway.
- The same earl gives them Kenmuck, in Kennochyr.
- 252 The same earl engages to bind his heirs to secure the above land to them.
- Margerie countess of Buchan engages to pay them the silver mark mentioned, p. 250.
- 253 The same countess confirms to them the church of Kennoway.
- 254 The same countess confirms to them Kinnuck in Kennochyr.
- Nesius son of William, gives them the church of Lathrisk.
- 255 Scyrus de Quinci earl of Winton, with consent of his relations,

¹ This is Duncan the sixth earl of Fife. He died in 1203.

gives them three silver marks annually from his mill of Leuchars: two of which are for the building and lighting the cathedral, and the third to be added to the common repast (*pitantia*) of the monastery, on the anniversary of the day on which he and his relations are commemorated. Whoever may hereafter get the said mill, shall pay the same, under pain of heaven's malediction.

256 Roger his son confirms the same.

257 Alan son of Walter, gives them a half-carucate of land in the villa of Unthank.

258 Walter son of Alan, confirms the same.

— Merleswan son of Alan, gives them the church of Kennoway, with all its pertinents.

259 Merleswan his son confirms the same.

260 Alan de Lascels gives them the church of Forgan, and chapel of Adnachton. Roger bishop of St Andrews is the first witness.

261 Henry Lupell lord of Hawick, gives them two oxgangs of land in Branchuella.

— Richard his son exchanges two other oxgangs for the above two.

262 "To all the sons of holy mother church who may see or hear of these presents, Christina, daughter of Walter Corbett, salutem. Know all men, that I, with the consent of William my husband, son of Earl Patrick, and of Aliz de Valoris my mother, have granted, and by this charter confirmed, in pure and perpetual charity, to God and the church of St Andrew the Apostle in Scotland, and the canons there serving, or who shall hereafter serve God—for the wellbeing of the souls of Walter Corbett my father, and Aliz de Valoris my mother, and of William my husband, son of Earl Patrick; and also for the wellbeing of the souls of my predecessors and successors—Martin, son of Unisti, together with his sons and daughters; which Martin holds of the said canons, in the villa de Maurice, and who was formerly the slave (*nativus*¹) of the said Walter my father. Wherefore my will is, that the said church of St Andrew the Apostle in Scotland, and the canons there serving, or who shall hereafter serve God, shall possess the said Martin, with his sons and daughters, and all their posterity for ever, without any hinderance or molestation from me or my heirs, in all time coming."

¹ There were three kinds of slaves in those times: the *bondus*, who was simply bound for a given period; the *villanus*, who belonged to the *villa* of his master; and the *nativus*, who was a slave *natus*.

There is no date to the foregoing document ; but one of the witnesses, William son of Lambin, signs another charter in the same Register, which is dated A.D. 1191.

- 263 Walter de Lundin gives them twenty acres of land, and a toft near the Lake of Lundin [Lundie.]
- 264 Walter son of Philip gives them the land of Adhebreeces.
— William Masculus gives them the chapel of Fowls, besides eight oxen, ten cows, three horses, one hundred sheep, &c. His body is to be buried in the cemetery of the canons. First witness, Richard bishop of St Andrews.
- 265 Hugo de Mortuomari [Mortimer] confirms the same. William [Malvoisin] bishop of St Andrews is the first witness.
- 266 William de Lamberton gives them the church of Bourtie.
- 267 The same baron gives them twelve acres of land, “ near the church land on the west.”
— Alexander his son confirms the same.
- 268 Lawrence de Abernethy gives them ten solidi, annually for ever, from his villa¹ of Balmutry.
- 269 John son of Michael, gives them a half silver mark annually from his bracio de Muircambus.
— Gilbert Scot gives them thirteen acres of land at Pillie.
- 270 Magnus his son confirms the same, and gives one and a half acre more.
- 271 Henry Reuel, and Margaret his wife, give them fifteen acres of land from their property of Balmurinoch.
— Adam de Stawell his nephew confirms the same.
- 272 Robert de Bernham gives them a silver solidus annually from his land in Berwick, for lighting their church.
- 273 Henry de Winton gives them two oxgangs of land at Lindores, which belonged to his mother Agnes.
- 274 Richard de Lascels gives them three acres from his land of Frereton, in the parish of Forgan.
— Alan de Lascels gives them two acres in the parish of Adnathan.
- 275 Duncan de Lascels gives them two acres in the territory of Seggin, near the bridge of Modreth [Mutray.]
- 276 Adam son of Abraha, gives them three acres in Lucra, one toft, pasture for four oxen, four cows, two horses, and forty sheep.
— Waldevus de Stratheim gives them the whole land of Blaregerog, *extra silvam*, with common pasture for sixty pigs, sixty cows with their calves till they are three years old, and

¹ Villa means a manor or lordship.

twenty mares with their foals till they are four years old. He also gives them the right of cutting timber in his wood of Goanch, towards the fabric of their church, and the erection of their new hall; also the right of hunting in his fields and woods, with men and dogs, in pure and perpetual charity, &c.¹ But if capital offences (*capitalia placita*) arise on his lands, between his people and those of the priory, they shall be debated in his court, and not in that of the priory, yet without prejudice to the emoluments of the latter. Finally, he stipulates that, after his death, his corpse shall be taken to St Andrews, and buried in the cemetery of the canons.

- 277 John de Montfort gives them twelve *denarii*, annually, from his farm of Petcollin [Pitcullo.]
- 278 William son of Earl Patrick, and Christina Corbet his wife, confirm to them one Martin, his family, and posterity, as their slaves for ever. See p. 262.
- 279 Roger Wyrfaud, with consent of his wife Cecilia, gives them land in Cuneveth [Laurencekirk.] See p. 285.
- The abbot and chapter of Arbroath confirm the same.
- 280 Alexander de Strivelin gives them the chapel of Lawrenston, subject to the mother church of Egglestreig: and, in token of this subjection, he and his heirs agree to pay yearly one pound of wax, according to the market-price of Munros [Montrose,] A.D. 1243.
- 281 Adam son of Odon, with consent of his wife and heir, sells them a tenement in St Andrews, "lying between the way leading from the South Street to the water which runs to the abbey on the one side, and the hospital of St Leonard on the other," for forty silver marks. David [Bernham] bishop of St Andrews is the first witness.
- 282 Malcolm earl of Fife, renounces in their favour his property in Achmore, A.D. 1245.

¹ I know a case of a most exemplary Episcopal clergyman in this country, with a wife and large family. His congregation is estimated to have not less than £50,000 per annum among them; and yet, all they can afford to give him, is a salary of £100. Moreover, he lives on the estate of one of his congregation, a large landed proprietor, to whom he pays the full rent of a house and garden, and £6 yearly besides *for the feed of a cow*. This is far from being an uncommon case. I avoid making any reflections; but I state *the fact*, in reference to the numerous liberal grants to the Church here detailed, to show the religious feeling of the present *enlightened* times as compared with that of what we call the *dark* ages. True religion will never flourish in this country, till our aristocracy curtail their domestic expenditure, and become more bountiful to the Reformed Catholic Church than they are at present, especially in regard to its places of worship, and the due performance of its divine services.

- 282 Alexander Cumyn earl of Buchan, confirms to them the half silver mark which his father and mother gave them from the farm of Innerinhe, p. 250.
- 283 Roger de Morley gives them a toft and croft in Kettle, they returning one pound of cumin annually.
- 284 Hugh Gifford gives them the land of Pitpontin.
- Hugh de Nidin sells them the land in St Andrews, "which lies between the land of Richard Monipeni, beside the chapel of St Peter, as you go to the castle, on the one side; and on the other, the land of Malcolm de Kinspinthen, in the North Street, extending as far as the street which leads from the chapel of St Peter to the castle," for nine silver marks.
- 285 Rychende daughter of Winfred de Barclay, gives to Roger Wyrefault land in the territory of Cunwith, for the payment to her and her heirs of one pound of pepper yearly, pp. 279, 334, 335.
- 286 The abbot and convent of Arbroath confirm the same.
- 287 Nesius son of William, gives the prior and canons the church of Leuchars.
- Orabilis countess of Mar, confirms the same.
- 288 Mathew bishop of Aberdeen, declares he was present on the occasion of the foregoing grant.
- Duncan earl of Fife, to the same effect.
- 289 King William to the same effect.
- Bishop Hugo to the same effect.
- 290 The above Orabilis gives them Davoch Ichthan Hathyn.
- To the same effect as the foregoing.
- 291 Scyrus de Quinci, son of the above, confirms the same.
- 292 Simon son of Simon de Kinnear, gives them five oxgangs and four acres of land in Kathlac.
- 293 John de Boswell gives them twelve *denarii* from the land of Herdesleia, which Amabella daughter of Simon, had been wont to pay him.
- 294 King Alexander confirms the donation of Kathlac by Simon de Kinnear.
- Richard bishop of Dunkeld, confirms to them the church of Dull. This bishop died in A.D. 1210.
- 295 John bishop of Dunkeld, (A.D. 1211-1214,) confirms the same.
- Hugh bishop of Dunkeld, (A.D. 1214,) confirms the same, except the chapel of Branboth in Glenlion, and except twenty *solidi* from the Abathania de Dull.¹ The canons shall present a fit vicar to Dull, and pay twenty marks yearly for his support.

¹ See a note on this *Abathania* in Macpherson's edition of Wyntoun's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 167.

- 296 The chapter of Dunkeld confirms the same.
- 297 Hugh bishop of Dunkeld, transfers to them the pension which William Cumyn paid to the church of Dull.
- Edward bishop of Aberdeen, (contemporary of David I.,) confirms to them the church of Tharfund.
- 298 Mathew bishop of Aberdeen, (A.D. 1164-1200,) to the same effect.
- The same bishop confirms to them the church of Miggaveth.
- 299 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Bourdin.
- Adam bishop of Aberdeen, (A.D. 1200-1227,) confirms to them the church of Tharfund.
- 300 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Miggaveth.
- 301 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Bourdin.
- Gilbert bishop of Aberdeen, (A.D. 1228-1238,) confirms to them the churches of Tharfund and Miggaveth.
- 302 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Bourdin.
- 303 Radulf bishop of Aberdeen, (A.D. 1238-1247,) to the same effect.
- 304 The whole chapter of Aberdeen, by name, confirm all the above churches, A.D. 1243.
- 305 Radulf bishop of Aberdeen, institutes Robert de la Runce to the vicarage of Bourdin, on the presentation of the priory.
- 306 Bishop Bernham institutes John de Cellario to the church of Dairsey, on the presentation of the priory.
- Prior Walter and the canons rent to Allan son of Simon, the land of Kathlac for seven solidi yearly, p. 212.
- 307 Walfred bishop of Dunkeld, tries a cause between the prior of St Andrews and the incumbent of Dull. The latter resigns his pretensions; and the bishop finds the former entitled to the said church on payment to the vicar of fifteen marks annually, and five marks to the chaplain of Fossach, A.D. 1245.
- 309 Richard bishop of Dunkeld, successor of the above, confirms the same.
- Duncan son of Michael, gives the prior and canons the land of Cairns, with its mill and pertinents.
- 310 Bishop Gameline confirms to them the church of Forgan in Fife, A.D. 1266.
- 311 William earl of Mar, confirms to them the churches of Tharfund and Miggaveth, A.D. 1267.
- 312 The same earl confirms to them the land in the parish of Tharfund which his ancestor gave them, except four acres for the use of the vicar, in lieu of which they are to receive four silver marks yearly.
- 313 William de Haya the king's pincerna, gives them and their

hospital a carucate of land in Petmullyn for twenty years free, after which they are to pay him and his heirs half a silver mark yearly for the same.

313 Eva and David, his sons, confirm the same.

314 King William confirms the same.

315 A dispute between Prior Simon and the canons on the one side, and the Archdeacon of St Andrews on the other, conducted before Bishop Malvoisin, and other venerable persons, regarding certain lands. The former are to have all the lands which belonged to the archdeacon within the *curvus apri*; and the latter to have the land "which extends through the strath towards Dairsey, viz., from the cross erected to the memory of Bishop Roger,¹ to the top of the ridge near the other cross, and along this ridge northwards, as far as the rock which divides Balgove from Strathtyrum; except the *salina*, with its toft and croft, which belong to the priory, and the right of pasturage, which belongs to the burgesses." A.D. 1212. See pp. 144, 422.

316 A dispute between Prior Simon and the canons on the one part, and "Master Patrick, master of the scholars of St Andrews, and the poor scholars of the same city," on the other, before the Bishop and Archdeacon of Glasgow, regarding certain rents and kane. The late Bishop Malvoisin, in a dispute between the priory and the Archdeacon of St Andrews, had directed that certain lands should remain with the priory, but that it should pay to the archdeacon and his successors, for the use of the poor scholars of St Andrews, the following rents: from Crigin, twenty measures of barley, and twenty stone of cheese; from Pettendrech, twenty measures of barley; from Nevechi, six measures of barley, &c., &c. The above agreement to hold good in the present dispute, and the scholars to draw the said rents.

318 A dispute between the canons and the Culdees of St Andrews. The canons concede to the Culdees the tithes of Kingasc, Kinnekelle *cum* Petsporgin, Petkennin, Lethent *cum* Kinnis, Kernes *cum* Cambran; but they retain those of Strathtyrum, together with the oblations at marriages, churchings, and baptisms, at all the above-mentioned places. The following are among the witnesses: Roger bishop of St Andrews; David brother of the king; John bishop of Dunkeld; Jonatha

¹ This cross, commonly called Cross Roger, seems to have stood on the top of what is now called the Wind-mill Brae, immediately to the west of St Andrews.

bishop of Strathern,¹ Mathew bishop of Aberdeen, Rodulf bishop-elect of Brechin, &c., &c.

- 319 Agreement between the priory and church of Linlithgow on the one side, and the brother hospitalers of Jerusalem, and the chapel of Torphichen, on the other, in the presence of Bishop Roger and the Archdeacon of St Andrews. The chapel shall have the right of burial, and certain other tithes and fees, on condition of paying the mother church of Linlithgow one silver mark yearly, and receiving the chrism from it. The chaplain of Torphichen to be elected by the brother hospitalers.
- 320 A dispute between the abbot and convent of Holyrood, the brother hospitalers at Torphichen, and Prior Simon and the canons, regarding the tithes and oblations of Ogglishfas. It was agreed that as the said tithes and oblations belonged in part to the priory's church of Linlithgow, the hospitalers should draw the same, and pay two silver marks yearly to the said priory.
- 321 Alexander son of William Thorald gives to the church of St Michael de Linlithgow two oxgangs of land in his villa of Okiltree.
- Convention between the above Alexander and the church of Linlithgow. The former is to have the chapel and chantry of Okiltree; but so as not to injure the parish church. The latter shall appoint a chaplain, who shall be maintained by the said Alexander, who gives some land to the chapel, but is to have the use of it during his life.
- 322 Convention between Prior Simon and the canons, and Bernard Fraser and the heirs of Drem. The latter are to have the chapel of Drem; but without prejudice to the mother church of Haddington, and to give certain lands to the canons, and pasturage to the chaplain's cattle. See p. 40.
- 323 Convention between Prior Walter and the canons, and the abbot and convent of Newbottle. The latter to have the tithes of certain lands, paying the priory two silver marks yearly instead of them, A.D. 1195, p. 338.
- Convention between the canons of St Andrews, and those of Dryburgh. The latter to have the tithes of Bangelawe in Haddingtonshire, and pay to the former two silver marks annually. Also, if the fishermen of St Andrews, and those of Kelroth, [Kilrenny,] which parish belonged to Dryburgh, have occasion to go into each other's harbours, they shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

¹ This is the only place where I have ever seen any mention of a bishop of Strathern.

- 324 Prior Henry and the canons, at the instance of Bishop Malvoisin, permit William de Golin and his heirs to have the oratory and chantry of the villa of Stevenston ; but without prejudice to the mother church of Haddington.
- 325 Prior Walter and the canons restore to Alan son of Simon, and his heirs, the land of Ketlach, which his father gave them, they paying seventy solidi yearly for the same.
- The priory is to hold the land of Petpontin, which it received from Hugh Gifford, so long as it holds the church of Thelin, [Tealing.] William Gifford son of Hugh, shall pay three marks yearly for his father's kitchen, and shall clothe him till he assume the canonical habit ; he shall also pay his four servants, but the canons will find them in provisions, A.D. 1199.
- 326 Agreement between Prior Henry and the canons, on the one side, and the bishop and chapter of Moray, the Lady Muriel de Rothes, and the hospital of St Nicholas near the bridge of Spey, on the other, respecting the church of Rothes. This church, with common consent, is given to the above hospital, on the condition of the priory receiving from it three marks yearly, A.D. 1235.
- 327 Agreement between prior Simon and the canons, as rectors of the church of Markinch, and their vicar, on the one part, and William rector of Kilgour and his vicar, on the other, A.D. 1224.
- 328 Agreement between Prior John [Whyte] and the canons, and Duncan de Ramsay. The latter to have his chapel and chaplain at Clayton, on condition of his paying one pound of frankincense yearly to the priory, and not infringing the rights of the parish church of Lathrisk.
- 329 Agreement between Prior Thomas and the canons, and Gelin son of Gillecrist Maccussegerai. The latter gets back the land of Scoonie, which he had given in exchange for Gariad. The canons permit him to carry Morbrac[?] They agree to feed and clothe him, and give him a chaldar of oats yearly during his life.
- A dispute in the eastern chapter of Lothian between Prior John [Whyte] and the canons, and the master and monks of Haddington, concerning certain tithes, which contest is here settled by mutual compromise.
- 331 The master and monks of Haddington, and the prioress and nuns of the same, declare their quarrel settled with the priory of St Andrews, regarding the tithes in the king's garden of Haddington, A.D. 1245.
- 332 A dispute between Prior John [Whyte] and the canons, and

Duncan earl of Mar, carried on before the Abbot of Lindores, and the Priors of Lindores and Isle of May, concerning the lands and tithes of Tharflund and Miggaveth, which had been granted to the priory by the father of the said earl. The priory gives up the tithes to the incumbent, on condition of receiving ten marks yearly, A.D. 1242.

- 333 Alexander de St Martin gives them five solidi, annually, from the church of Barnes. Bishop Hugh, elect of St Andrews, is the first witness.
- 334 The prior and canons, and the monks of Haddington, declare the settlement of their dispute. King William and Bishop Richard are witnesses.
- King Alexander confirms to Roger Wyrefaut the land in Cuneveth, which Rychende, daughter of Roger de Berkly, gave him, p. 285.
- 335 Roger Wyrefaut gives the above land to the priory. The seal of Bishop Gameline is appended to the grant.
- 336 and 337 By two very similar charters, Roger de Quincy confirms to them the church of Lathrisk and the chapel of Kettle.
- 338 Bishop Richard issues a mandate respecting the workmen engaged in building the cathedral. See vol. i. p. 87.
- Composition between the prior [John Haddenton] and canons, and the abbot and convent of Newbottle. The latter get the tithes of certain lands, paying the former six marks yearly, A.D. 1277, p. 323.¹
- 339 Gilbert de Ballas gives the prior [John Haddenton] and canons a right to construct a mill-dam on the river Eden at Dairsey, A.D. 1288.
- 340 Alexander de Moray confirms to them the charter of his uncle, Duncan de Lascels, of two acres of land at Seggin, A.D. 1260. See p. 275.
- 341 The same Alexander gives them one acre of land at Seggin, A.D. 1280.
- 342 Same as in p. 276. Adam, son of, &c.
- 343 and 345 Rents of certain lands at Linlithgow, Berwick, Crail, and Haddington.
- 346 Serlo de Lascels gives the land of Ryhinche, in the parish of Forgan, to the priory, A.D. 1288.
- At the Justiciary Court of Perth, Falletauch appears before Freskyn de Moray and others, against Thomas de Lidel, attorney for the prior [Gilbert II.] and canons, and gives up

¹ It deserves remark, that in the course of eighty-two years, viz. from 1195 to 1277, the money value of these tithes had tripled.

to them all right which he had to the land of Drunkara, A.D. 1260.

- 347 Lawrence archdeacon of St Andrews, for himself and his successors, gives up to the prior and canons all right which he could have to the lands which William bishop of St Andrews had assigned to him.
- 348 The following churches were dedicated, in A.D. 1242, by David [Bernham] bishop of St Andrews:—
The Church of St Michael at Linlithgow.
- — of St Cyrus the Martyr, at Egglestreig.
 - — of St Monance the Confessor, at Fowls.
 - — of St Meme the Virgin, at Scoonie, in A.D. 1243.
 - — of the Holy Trinity, at Kilrimund or St Andrews.
 - — of St John Baptist, and St Modrust Confessor, at Markinch.
 - — of St Stephen the Martyr, and of St Moan Confessor, at Portmoak.
 - — of St John the Evangelist, and of St Athernisius Confessor, at Lathrisk.
 - — of St Lawrence the Martyr, and of St Comanus Confessor, at Rossinclerach.
- 349 Memorandum. The prior of St Andrews [John White] held his court at Dull, in Atholl, “near a large stone on the west side of the vicar’s house;” on which day, Colin son of Anegus, and Bridin his son, and Gylis his brother, rendered to him their homage as his liege men, A.D. 1244.
- Memorandum. Andrew son of Gilmur, clerauch de Dull, made his homage to the prior of St Andrews, with bended knees, and folded hands, A.D. 1249.
- 350 Pope Innocent [IV ?] issues his bull to the abbots of Arbroath, Cupar, and Lindores, stating that the prior and canons had represented to him, that Nesius son of William, after granting to them the church of Leuchars, his nephew Saerus de Quinci had wrested from them the patronage thereof. The pope, therefore, commands the said abbots to adjust the business.
- The same pope, a few months after, reproves the above abbots for unnecessary delay in executing his orders.
- 351 The same pope enjoins the Abbots of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, to interfere in the same affair.
- 352 The same pope, next year, issues his bull to the Bishop of Brechin, and the Abbots of Scone and Arbroath on the same subject. Saerus de Quinci had appealed to the king, and cited the prior and canons. The latter had appealed to the

pope, who now therefore directs the above dignitaries to interpose.

- 353 A convention between Bishop Hugh and Earl Duncan, regarding their respective mills of Dairsey. Among the witnesses is the Abbot of the Culdees in St Andrews, after the Abbot and Prior of Dunfermline. This must have been between the years 1183 and 1188.
- 354 Robert de Quinci gives to Roger de Argenten his place (placia) of the old castle of Forfar, receiving 1 lb. of pepper in return yearly.
- 355, &c. List of the taxes paid by the deaneries in the diocese of Aberdeen.
- 362 Duncan earl of Mar gives to the "Culdees or canons of the church of St Mary of Monymusk," the church of Locheil, with its pertinents, with the half davoch¹ of land in which the church is situated.
 - William earl of Mar sends his seal, and that of his father, to Peter bishop of Aberdeen, (A.D. 1247-1256,) with certain letters-patent.
- 363 King Alexander [III. ?] announces that Duncan and David, the two sons of the Earl of Mar, have settled their dispute respecting the church of Locheil, by making it over to the canons of Monymusk.
 - Colin (hostiarius) confirms to the canons of Monymusk the half davoch of land on which the church of Locheil is situated, with pasturage for four horses, and forty cows, with their calves of two years old.
- 364 Philip son of the above Colin, and Anne his wife, confirm the above.
- 365 Thomas (hostiarius of the king) gives the church of Afford to the canons of Monymusk.
 - The Bishop of Aberdeen confirms the same.
- 366 Bishop W. [Malvoisin,] with consent of his chapter, gives them the church of Kege, between the two streams, Conglessy and Puthakin, which run into the river Don.
- 367 Gilbert bishop of Aberdeen confirms the above grant.
 - Duncan earl of Mar gives the church of Kindrouch to the canons of Monymusk.
- 368 Gilbert bishop of Aberdeen confirms the same.
 - Bishop W. [Malvoisin] declares that they who give up the secular for the regular habit, and "return again to the world, like the dog to his vomit, are deservedly abominated of God

¹ A davoch of land was as much as eight oxen could plough.

- and man. Therefore, if any of the canons or Culdees of Monymusk have thus acted, they are not to be restored till they have given ample satisfaction."
- 369 Bishop D. [Bernham] gives the canons of Monymusk, Dolbethoc, [Dolbeatic,] with its pertinents, for the sustaining of poor pilgrims resorting thither.
- Thomas (hostiarius of the king) confirms to the Culdees of Monymusk, the ten bolls of barley, and the ten stone of cheese, from the land of Outhirleylt, which his grandfather and his mother gave them. The same to be carried to their monastery every Martinmas.
- 370 Roger earl of Buchan gives them, from Fœdarg, twenty measures of barley, and ten *cudros* of cheese; from Foley, four measures of barley, and twenty *cudros* of cheese, &c. &c.
- Agreement between Bishop W. [Malvoisin] and the Culdees of Monymusk. The latter to have one refectory and one dormitory in common, but to bury their dead in the parish cemetery. Their number to be twelve, who shall present one Bressius to the bishop, to be constituted by him as their head. At his death, they are to name three, out of whom the bishop shall choose one to succeed him, on his swearing fidelity to him. They shall not enter into the regular order of the canons, nor increase their number, without the bishop's consent. They shall keep the possessions they now have, but shall not add to them; and they shall only receive a part of the oblations made to their monastery. When the bishop goes to Monymusk, they shall receive him in solemn procession. The bishop engages, on his part, to protect them.
- 372 Pope Innocent [IV.] confirms certain lands to the prior and canons of the order of St Augustine at Monymusk.
- 373 Gilchrist earl of Mar confirms to them the church of Locheil.
- 374 John bishop of Aberdeen confirms the same to the "canons who are called Culdees" of Monymusk.
- The same bishop confirms to them the churches of Ruchaven and Invernoshin, and requires them to be subject to no other in Scotland than himself and his successors.
- 375 The same bishop confirms to them the church of Afford.
- Pope Innocent [IV.] takes them and their property under his special protection.
- 376 Gregory de Melville binds himself to uphold a chaplain in the chapel of St Leonard de Retrevyn, out of certain properties which are specified. Bishop Gameline is the first witness.
- 379 Patrick earl of Dunbar gives "to God and the saints of May, and the monks there serving God," a piece of land, the boun-

- daries of which are described. Bishop Wishart is the first witness.
- 380 The same earl gives to the same monks, a cow yearly, which he and his ancestors had always received from Lambermoor. Bishop Wishart is the first witness.
- John son of Michael, gives them a piece of land in Lambermoor.
- 381 The same John gives them another piece of land. Robert de Londer, son of King William, is the first witness.
- 382 William de Beauveyr gives them a piece of land from his estate of Arderie; also his wife's dower, and a servant's portion, at their death.
- Egou Ruffus gives them a piece of land at Lingo.
- 383 Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan and Justiciary of Scotland, gives them, for lighting the altar of St Etherinus, a stone of wax, or forty denarii, annually, at the market-price of St Andrews.
- 384 Agreement between John of Dundemor and the monks of May. The former gives them the land of Turbrec in Fife. In return, they give him a half silver mark, or sixty *malevellos* yearly; they furnish a glass lamp in the church of Ceres, and two gallons of oil, or twelve denarii yearly, for ever; and they employ a monk to say masses for him, his ancestors, and his heirs, A.D. 1260.
- 385 John of Dundemor makes over to them the land of Turbrec.
- 386 Dispute between Henry de Dundemor and the same monks. He claimshom age from them for the land of Turbrec, and, on their refusal, seizes one of their horses. W. [Fraser] bishop of St Andrews, being appealed to, decides in favour of the monks, A.D. 1285.
- 387 Dispute between one Thomas and the same monks, concerning some property in Berwick. This is settled by the Abbots of Scone and Lindores, and the Archdeacon of St Andrews, by command of the pope.
- A similar dispute between the same monks and those of Reading, in Yorkshire, on the one side, and one Simon of Berwick on the other, which is settled by the same persons.¹
- 388 Gilbert de Barewe gives the same monks a piece of land in Barewe, near the hill called Whitelaw.
- 389 Prior John and the monks of May give to Radner, chaplain of Crail, the above land of Barewe, for four solidi yearly.
- 390 William de Mortuomari, [Mortimer,] official of the bishop

¹ See the episcopate of Bishop Lamberton, vol. i.

of St Andrews, settles a dispute between the monks of May, and one Patrick, chaplain of Dunbar, respecting a toft in Dunbar, A.D. 1212.

- 391 The Abbot and Prior of Lindores are commissioned by Pope Alexander IV. to settle a dispute between the monks of Reading (to whom the priory of May then belonged) and a burgess of Berwick, regarding a property in that town; which dispute they settled accordingly, A.D. 1261.

- 392 The abbot and monastery of Dunfermline give the monks of May the tithes of Balgallin.

- 393 A composition, whereby the monks of May are allowed to fish at Inchefreth (Inchyra) on the river Tay.

— The monks of May, who had the parish of Rind, on the river Tay, complain that the monks of Scone took the tithe of fish within the limits of their parish on some pretended right. Pope Gregory [IX.] commands Henry prior of St Andrews, L. archdeacon of the same, and R. dean of Fife, to inquire into the above complaint. They decide that the monks of Scone, on paying to those of May two silver marks annually, shall be allowed to retain their right to the tithe of fish, A.D. 1231.

- 395 Pope Honorius [III.] commands the Abbot and Prior of Melrose, and the Dean of Teviotdale, to inquire into a complaint made by the monks of Dryburgh, proprietors of the tithes of Kilrenny, against the monks of May, proprietors of the tithes of Anstruther. The former complained that, when the latter's boats (*naues et navicellæ piscariæ*) went to fish in the river which divided the two parishes, they approached too near the Kilrenny side, and thus robbed them of their tithe of fish. A composition is made, whereby the Anstruther boats might fish in any part of the river, on paying a half silver mark yearly to Dryburgh, A.D. 1225.¹

- 396 The prior and monks of May agree with Malcolm, (pincerna to the king,) that, on every Sunday, and the chief holydays, divine service be performed in the chapel of Ricardston, but that the women shall be churched, confession made, and the communion administered, at the parish church of Rindalgross. Malcolm and his family may communicate in either the chapel or the church.

- 397 William de Ferrars gives the prior and canons of St An-

¹ What is now the parish of East Anstruther was at this time part of Kilrenny parish, and, consequently, the river here spoken of was the "Drill," which divided it from West Anstruther. It is now so very small a stream that it is incapable of being fished with a small boat, even at high water.

- drews, with consent of Bishop Fraser, two acres of land in Leuchars.
- 398 Prior John [Haddenton] and canons, give to John de Fitkyll and his heirs, certain lands in Clackmannan, on paying to them two silver marks yearly; each successor in his first year doubling his payment for ward-holding and other customary dues.
- 398 The prior and canons state, that though they were bound to pay William de Lindsay a pension of £40 sterling per annum out of their property of Incheffreth, Petpontin, Rossey, and Fowls, yet that, owing to the invasion of Edward Baliol and Henry de Belmont, they could derive no revenue from the said lands, and so were unable to pay their stipulated pension.
- 400 William [Lamberton] bishop of St Andrews, quotes a confirmation by bishop Fraser of the church of Leuchars, to the priory, dated A.D. 1294, in which occur the following words: "But seeing the canons are afflicted in these times by various disasters, and get no relief from their insupportable burdens, and especially by the recent ruin of their affairs, they are compelled to support their lives out of the bounty which kings and nobles granted for the support of their church, whereby they have contracted debt, and are fallen into the hands of the money-lenders;"¹ on which account Bishop Fraser had appropriated to their use the church and pertinents of Leuchars, and allowed them to appoint to it one of their own body, who should employ two chaplains to perform its duties. Bishop Lamberton confirms the above, A.D. 1317.
- 402 Bishop Fraser commands R. dean of Lothian, and A. de St Martin, to tax the vicarage of Linlithgow at thirty marks, as had been previously agreed upon.
- 403 The above two persons announce the tax accordingly. The vicar to have the oblations, small tithes, and manse; the canons to have the great tithes of corn, wool, lambs, rents, mills, live-stock, together with bequeathed corpses.
- Bishop Fraser desires the Dean of Lothian to institute Robert chaplain of Haddington into the vicarage of Linlithgow, instead of the former vicar, who had obtained another benefice, A.D. 1286. Dated at Inchmurtoch.
- 404 Prior William [de Louden] and the canons let the half davoch of land in Cuneveth to Andrew Grey, he paying the first year thirteen solidi, four denarii; the second year sixteen solidi, eight denarii; the third year twenty solidi, &c. The said

¹ This was at the time of the invasion of Edward I.

Andrew to build two houses at his own expense, and to uphold the marches of the land, A.D. 1347.

- 404 The prior and canons give to John de Monypeny, for his homage and fidelity, his whole land of Petmolyn, [Pitmillly,] with its pertinents, and pasturage for forty oxen and cows, and eighty two-year olds, with privilege of fuel and right of road.
- 405 The prior [John Haddenton] and canons hold themselves bound to pay Galfred de Berwick twenty pound, sixteen solidi, eight denarii, for wine sold and delivered to them by him, A.D. 1291.
- 406 Archibald duke of Turonensis, earl of Douglas, &c., gives to the priory two marks yearly, which he was wont to receive from Wester Collesy, for lighting the image of the Virgin in the cathedral church, commonly called the "Douglas Lady," which his ancestors granted to God and St Andrew the Apostle.
- 407 Henry [Wardlaw] bishop of St Andrews, considering there were only seven persons in the royal chapel of St Mary, [Kirkhough] in the city of St Andrews, and wishing to increase their number to the honour of the Virgin, &c., gives to it the parish church of Feteresso, with its pertinents, on the resignation of the incumbent, John de Cameron, provost of the collegiate church of Kincloudane, and secretary to the king. The fruits of this church to be converted into a prebendaryship, of which the patronage to be vested in the bishop and his successors, A.D. 1425.
- 409 Bishop Walter [Trail] finding the manse of Edwy inconveniently situated, gives the rector a better piece of ground to build on, and takes the other in exchange, 1388.
- 410 Thomas Arthur, provost of St Andrews, for himself and citizens, renting land from the prior J. Haldenston, declares, by this public instrument, their fidelity to him and his monastery, A.D. 1433.
- 412 "Martin [V.,] episcopus, servus, &c., to our beloved sons James de Haldenstone, the prior and chapter of the cathedral church of St Andrews in Scotland, of the order of St Augustine, salutem, &c. The sincerity of your piety demands that we elevate both you with special favour, and your church with eminent honour. As, therefore, the petition lately addressed to us, on your part, has shown that your church, being more illustrious than the other churches of Scotland, and its prior always accustomed to receive greater respect than even the mitred abbots and the dignitaries, not episcopal, of the churches and monasteries in the said kingdom, we, moved by

- your prayers, grant by these presents, in virtue of our apostolical authority, that you our son, the prior of the said church, and your successors, be entitled to wear freely, the mitre, ring, and pastoral staff, and other pontifical insignia, in parliaments, councils, synods, and other like assemblies, when the same are worn, and also on festival days, after the celebration of mass and other divine offices. Therefore, let no man infringe, &c. Given at Constance, 5 kal. May, in the first year of our pontificate, A.D. 1417.”¹
- 413 The same pope takes the churches of the priory, which are here enumerated, under his special protection, A.D. 1420.
- 414 Robert III. confirms to the bishopric of St Andrews, and to H. [Wardlaw] and his successors, all their liberties and privileges which are here enumerated, A.D. 1405.
- 416 The same king gives to Bishop II. [Wardlaw] and his successors, the whole custom and cocket duty of St Andrews, A.D. 1405.
- 417 Oath of fidelity taken by John de Kinnemond, in the prior's hall of St Andrews, for the land of Kinnemond, on his bended knees, in the presence of numerous witnesses, A.D. 1434.
- 420 William de Vallon and his wife Margaret, give to the priory a meadow at Markinche, and common pasturage for two cows and their calves of one year old, A.D. 1284.
- 421 Prior James [Bisset] and the canons, promise to pay Thomas

¹ The following are the remarks of Bower, the continuator of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, as to the rank of the priors of St Andrews: “As the Bishop of St Andrews excels all the other great prelates of the kingdom, it remains that we fill up and adorn our chronicles, with some account of the prelate who is next in dignity to that bishop, namely, the Prior of the monastery of St Andrews. And, though generally an abbot is above a prior, yet the Prior of St Andrews takes precedence of all the abbots of Scotland, as well on account of the honour due to the protector and patron saint of the kingdom, who was the meekest and first-called of the apostles, as also on account of his church, which is the principal one in the country. And though the Abbot of Kelso, from ancient right, is said to be entitled to precedence in parliaments and in ecclesiastical councils over the other abbots and priors in Scotland, yet prescriptive custom puts the Prior of St Andrews above both him and them. For when once, in the reign of James I., a great contention arose between the said prior and abbot on this very point, the king thus concluded, after hearing the reasons on both sides: ‘The Prior of St Andrews is, in my judgment, inferior to a bishop, but superior to an abbot; though every other prior is inferior to an abbot; and, in this respect, the Prior of St Andrews may be compared to a marquis, who is superior to an earl but inferior to a duke. Or the question may be decided thus: the Prior of St Andrews is first in order of time, because his monastery was earlier and more famous than that of Kelso; and herein is that rule verified, that “the first in time is the first in right.”’”

prior of the cathedral church of Candida Casa, £20 Scots, failing which their goods may be distrained, A.D. 1415.

- 422 James [Bisset] prior of St Andrews, grants to Thomas Stewart the archdeacon, for the term of his life, "all our lands of Balgove and Saltcots, with that part of our meadow of Weldenene, which lies on the north side of the river, running through the said meadow, (except that part called Freremeadow,) throughout all the boundaries of the said lands existing at the time of the said grant; viz., from the said river on the east side of the meadow, and then by the top of the hill [ridge] towards the north, as far as the rock near which the stream falls, on the east side of the buildings of Saltcots; which rock is the known boundary between the lands of Balgove and Stratyrum, with two acres lying near the cross called Sluther's cross, and through all the other known boundaries of Balgove and Saltcots on the west side, as far as the boundaries of Kincapple and Strakinnes," to be held by the said Thomas, he paying yearly for the same 4 lb., 13 solidi, 4 denarii, A.D. 1405. See p. 144, 315. Vol. i. p. 195.
- 423 Prior James [Haldenstone] and the canons, let to Walter Monypeny the farm of Bultymont-easter for nine years, at seven marks Scots yearly, A.D. 1424.¹
- 424 Bishop James Kennedy binds himself and his successors to pay £40 Scots; the prior and his successors forty marks Scots; and the Archdeacons of Lothian and St Andrews, and the chancellor of the diocese, £20 Scots annually, for the more becoming performance of divine worship.
- 426 Prior James [Haldenstone] and the canons, feu to Thomas Wardlaw a tenement in South Street, St Andrews, he paying to them ten solidi yearly, A.D. 1410.
- 228 Indenture between the same Prior James and the canons, and John de Carnichael, provost of St Andrews, and his fellow-citizens, as to the regular payment of rent due by them to the former, for lands in and near the city. The leases are for nine years; and, if the tenant die before their expiration, his wife and children may carry on the same farm. If the Martinmas rent be not paid before sunset on St Andrew's day, the farms to revert to the priory, A.D. 1434.
- 429 The prior and canons, through their deputies, and James de Kinnymond by his notary, appear before certain *nobiles viros*, who are named, both civil and religious, who hear complaints and petitions. They desire the said James to be obedient to

¹ This document is in the vernacular language of the period.

his superiors the prior and canons, A.D. 1438.—In this document there is a curious specimen of the vernacular tongue.

Here the Register ends abruptly.

No. VII.

DENMYLNE OR SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENTS, RELATING TO THE PRIORY OF ST ANDREWS, NOT INCLUDED IN THE REGISTER, BUT PRESERVED BY SIR JAMES BALFOUR OF DENMYLNE, AND DEPOSITED IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.¹

No.

1. William king of Scots confirms to the prior and canons of St Andrews the church of Thelin, [Tealing,] with the priest's toft, &c., which Hugo Giffard and William his son gave them.
2. The same king confirms to them the church of Meigle, which Simon de Meigle gave them, together with the chapel adjoining the church. Hugh bishop of St Andrews is a witness.
3. King David II. confirms to them a donation of one mark sterling, which David earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William, gave them from his burgh of Dundee, A.D. 1362.
4. Precept by Robert seneschal of Scotland, on behalf of David II., to John de Douglas keeper of the castle of Lochleven, to the effect that the prior and canons shall not be molested on account of any obligation they may lie under for the furnishing [warinsturæ] of Lochleven, A.D. 1339.
5. Precept by the same, commanding the burgesses of Perth to pay the prior and canons one mark sterling out of the primage of the said burgh, A.D. 1355.
6. Robert I. grants to them, that all the granges belonging to them, and those serving in the same, be exempted from all exactions and tallage, A.D. 1327.
7. William Fraser bishop of St Andrews, confirms to them the two acres of land in Leuchars, which William de Ferrars gave them. At Inchmurtach, A.D. 1294. See p. 397 of the Register.

¹ Nothing can exceed the beauty of the penmanship of some of these papers; and what is remarkable, the older they are, the blacker is the ink, and the more distinctly legible is the writing. This, at least, is the general rule, admitting of a very few exceptions.

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8. The Bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin certify to the charter granted by David I., annexing Haddington and Clerkington to the priory of St Andrews; as quoted in p. 181 of the Register.
9. Bishop James de Bane forbids any one to break the rock to the north of the cathedral church, or to remove stones therefrom, through fear of injuring its foundation,¹ A.D. 1330.
10. King David I. gives the prior and canons the church of Haddington, together with the land of Clerkington. Hugh bishop of St Andrews is one of the witnesses.
11. The priories of May and Pittenweem having been bought from the monastery of Reading, and the priory of May having always paid an annual pension of sixteen marks to the said monastery, Bishop Lamberton commands that, for the future, it pay the same to the prior and canons of St Andrews. Dated St Andrews, A.D. 1318.
12. William [Malvoisin] bishop of St Andrews, with a view to augment the archdeaconry of St Andrews, gives the church of Tarvet to Archdeacon Lawrence and his successors for ever.
13. William [Fraser] bishop of St Andrews, confirms to the prior and canons the vicarage churches of Forgan in Gowrie, and Forgan in Fife, on the condition of their supplying them with fit vicars, A.D. 1292.
14. William [de Lamberton] bishop of St Andrews, commands the "dean of christianity" in Fyfe and Fotheriff, to put the church of Abercromby in possession of the prior and canons of St Andrews, for augmenting the light of the high altar of the cathedral. Dated at Tory, 1319.
15. Bishop Richard gives them the chapel of Inchethore.
16. Bishop William de Lamberton commands the "dean of christianity" in Fife and Fotheriff to put the church of Dairsey in possession of the prior and canons, for the improvement of divine worship in the cathedral church, A.D. 1304.
17. James [Kennedy] by the grace of God, &c., to our beloved brothers the sub-prior and canons, &c. You know that at the time of the departure of William your venerable prior, to transmarine parts, he fully committed to us your temporal and spiritual government; and because we think it for the improvement of divine worship, and the benefit of our church, to add to the number of your order, we have consented that you may receive among you certain qualified persons, according to the prescribed rules of your order. Yet we wish not, nor do we

¹ See a full copy of this document, vol. i. p. 12.

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mean, by this our consent, to create any claim of right to ourselves, or our successors the bishops of St Andrews: so far from it, that we are acting in the name, and by the authority of your venerable prior, committed to us by himself. Moreover, we hereby engage to exonerate you from all responsibility in the concurrence you have given in this matter. In testimony of which, &c. At Inchmurtoch, A.D. 1457.

18. Be it known unto all, &c., that we Alexander [Stewart,] by divine mercy archbishop of St Andrews, primate of all Scotland, and legate of the apostolic see, have received from our venerable brother in Christ John [Hepburn,] by divine permission prior of our metropolitan church of St Andrews, the sum of £250, delivered to James Kincragg provost of Bothwell, by our mandate, as part payment of the monies due to us from the said prior, and from our mensal churches, since our promotion to the said see of St Andrews; for which payment we, for ourselves and successors, hereby acknowledge the said prior and his successors acquitted in all time coming, &c. At St Andrews, A.D. 1506.
19. In the parish church of Inverkeithing, in the year 1250, on the morrow of St Leonard's day, in the presence of the abbot of Dunfermline, and Dominus R. treasurer of the church of Dunkeld, acting for our Lord the Pope, in a dispute between the prior and canons of St Andrews, on the one part, and, on the other, Adam de Malcarwiston, pretending to be (se gerentem pro) provost of the Culdean church of St Mary, in the city of St Andrews, and the Culdees, pretending to be canons, and their vicars. When the day was named for proclaiming the sentence of the priors of St Oswald and Kyrham, against Adam de Malcarwiston, R. Witemount, William Wishart, &c., and other Culdees, pretending to be canons, and other disobedient Culdees of the church of St Mary; as also for inquiring whether they have performed divine ordinances, being so bound, (sic ligati,) and for determining what is canonical in the case, the said abbot and treasurer have solemnly published the sentence declared by the said priors of St Oswald and Kyrham, against the above-named persons. As to the inquiry, whether they have performed divine ordinances, being so bound, they have received evidence, and reduced it to writing, and have fixed the Sunday after the feast of St Andrew for proclaiming the same in the church of the Friars Predicant at Perth, where they will hear further evidence, if offered, and proceed according to the apostolic mandate. And though the

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- said judges might justly inflict punishment on the above provost and Culdees for their manifest contumacy, yet they will delay doing so till the day above-named.
20. Pope Innocent IV. in the 7th year of his pontificate, [1250,] having issued a bull in favour of the provost and canons of St Mary's church in St Andrews, William Parmen, "auditor contradictorum," declares, that nothing therein contained shall be construed as hostile to the rights and privileges of the prior and canons of St Andrews.
 21. The abbots of Dunfermline and Lindores, and the prior of Pittenween, at the command of the pope, decide upon a dispute between Ronulf archdeacon of St Andrews, and Hugo Senescallus and his nephew, respecting some land lying "on the western side of the new work." Hugo and his nephew give up the land to the archdeacon, but receive from him, the former, fifteen marks, and the latter ten.
 22. Ronulf bishop of Aberdeen, on the presentation of the prior and canons of St Andrews, institutes Robert de Larimie into the vicarage of Bourdin, situated in his diocese.
 23. Robert archdeacon of St Andrews, finds, upon inquiry at six different ecclesiastics, that the vicar of Lathrisk, and not the prior and canons of St Andrews, is bound to furnish a chaplain for the chapel of Kettle, A.D. 1323.
 24. The prior and canons agree to increase the glebe of their church of Bourdin in the diocese of Aberdeen, the vicar paying to them three silver marks annually, A.D. 1268.
 25. "William [de Landel] bishop of St Andrews, to Robert Bell vicar of the church of Crail, salutem, &c. Seeing we have, on the presentation of the king, conferred the church of Ceres, which belongs to the provostry of St Mary's church, St Andrews, vacant by the death of Gilbert Armstrong, on William de Dalgernocks, and invested him in the same by the delivery to him of our ring; we require you, by the tenor of these presents, to induct the said William into the said church, with all its rights, &c." A.D. 1375. At Inchmurtoch.
 26. Walterus juvenis de Rokesburg gives up to Ronulf archdeacon of St Andrews and his successors for ever, Scunin and Balkathlin, and the land which lies south of the city of St Andrews, "inter torrentes," which lands his uncle Walter, the late archdeacon, held during his life, and which he himself had held since.
 27. David Eissor burgess of Berwick, renounces, in favour of the prior and convent of St Andrews, all claim to a certain

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- tenement which he had, or might have in Berwick, situated on the "Hys," about which there had been a controversy between him and the said prior and convent of St Andrews, A.D. 1292. The seal of William [Fraser] bishop of St Andrews is appended.
28. "Indenture between John [Hepburn] prior, and the convent of St Andrews, on the one part, and the provost and baillies of Linlithgow, on the other, concerning the bigging, repairing, and upholding of the quier of the church of Linlithgow, A.D. 1497." This is in the vernacular tongue.
 29. Convention between the bishop [Wardlaw] and the prior and convent of St Andrews, on the one part, and, on the other, the abbot and monks of Balmerino; the latter shall in future have a baptistery in the chapel of St Alus, where they shall minister to themselves and the neighbourhood; provided that no other parishioners, without leave from their curates, be admitted to such ministrations, so as thereby to hurt their parish churches. Moreover, the said abbot and monks shall, for this privilege, pay twenty-five denarii yearly to the said bishop, prior, and convent of St Andrews, and their successors in all time coming, A.D. 1435.
 30. Bartholomew archdeacon of Ambranensis, and chaplain to Pope Urban, quotes a bull of this said pope, addressed to the bishop of St Andrews, complaining that some of the vicarages in his diocese are so ill provided, that the incumbents could not live upon them. The procurator of the priory protests that no damage shall ensue therefrom in regard to the vicarages belonging to his clients.
 31. Marjory Cumyn countess of Buchan, confirms to the priory the church of Kennoway.
 32. Malcolm son of Morgrund earl of Marr, confirms to the priory the church of St Mulvoch de Tarveland.
 33. William [de Landel] bishop of St Andrews, commands the dean of Gowry to institute the abbot and convent of Scone into the church of Blar [Blair,] which had fallen to him by the resignation and demission of the late rector, A.D. 1357.
 34. Peter Monypeny, procurator of the sub-prior and convent of St Andrews, arrests, in the town of Perth, at their instance, certain articles of property, in payment of a debt due to them, A.D. 1483.—This document is in the vernacular tongue. There is a copy of it in the *Analecta Scotica*, p. 209.
 35. The sub-prior of the monastery, Robert Horsbrooke, having stated that, by the appointment of Bishop Kennedy, three canons had been chosen to inquire into the management of the

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great tithes and other property belonging to the monastery ; and Dominus Ramsay, their chamberlain, having requested the said canons to say publicly whether or not they had found his administration correct, they reply that they have found it correct, A.D. 1443.¹

36. James [Stewart,] by divine permission perpetual commendator of the monastery of St Andrews ; John Wynram, professor of theology sub-prior and canon of the same ; and David Guthry, third prior of the same ; and the said *domini*, jointly and severally,—to our commissaries who are hereby specially appointed, to cite the prior, sub-prior, or any canon of the priories of Pittenweem and the Isle of May, in the execution of these presents, salutem. We command you, or any of you, under pain of disobedience and suspension, that by this warrant you cite *Dominus* John Roul prior of the said priory of Pittenweem, a first, second, and third time to appear before us, or those deputed by us, in loco capitulari of St Andrews, on the third day after receiving this citation, at ten o'clock A.M., for rendering due obedience to us his lawful superiors, according to the rules of the priory of Pittenweem, and the order of St Augustine, under pain of excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures which he may incur by canon law and the rules of the said order. Given under the secret seal of our chapter, at our monastery of St Andrews, 15th March, 1549.—I, *Dominus* William Wilson, canon of the monastery of St Andrews, have cited *Dominus* John Roul prior of Pittenweem, to appear personally in the parish church of the Holy Trinity, in St Andrews, according to the tenor of the above, before Walter Fothe, John Fodrick, notaries-public, and divers others.²
37. William Grey, a burgess in Linlithgow, resigns to John [Hepburn] prior of St Andrews, the superiority of a tenement in that burgh, to which he had recently succeeded, A.D. 1501.—This is in the vernacular tongue.

¹ As this was the year of Prior James Haldenstone's death, the above public instrument was probably issued between his death and the succession of William Bonar, the next prior.

² I have given this document less abridged than the rest, because we have so little concerning the priory at the period it relates to, and its last prior, Lord James Stewart, who was at this time only sixteen years of age. The nature of Prior Roul's offence is not stated; but, if he were liable to "excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures by canon law, and the rules of the order of St Augustine," how much more did this same James Stewart subject himself, soon after, to a like punishment ! It was not long after this that he managed to get the priory of Pittenweem for himself, and appropriated a large part of its revenues to his own purposes.

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38. In nomine Dei amen, &c. In the presence of the venerable Andrew Morrison, licentiate in both laws, and of David [Ramsay,] by divine permission prior of St Andrews, on the one part, and of Alexander Shevez, master of arts, &c., on the other, &c. &c. This is a public instrument concerning certain charges brought by the vicar of Linlithgow against his superiors the prior and canons of St Andrews.
39. Supplication of the bishops of Scotland to King Alexander III. "To all the sons of holy mother church who shall see or hear of this writing, David [Bernham] and Albinus, bishops of St Andrews and Brechin, and Master Abel,¹ chaplain to the pope, and archdeacon of St Andrews, salutem in domino eternam. 'We have examined the address of the bishops of Scotland to the king, which runs thus : 'To the most excellent Alexander, by the grace of God the illustrious king of Scots, David bishop of St Andrews, William bishop of Glasgow, Petrus bishop of Aberdeen, Clemens bishop of Dumblane, Albinus bishop of Brechin, Robertus bishop of Ross, Willielmus bishop of Caithness, ministers of the churches, salutem : Though the things determined in the last council held in Edinburgh, in the presence of yourself and nobles, were not reduced to writing, yet we could not have supposed they would have so soon slipped from the memory of your counsellors ; namely, that the churches and their clergy should enjoy the peaceable possession of all the rights and liberties which they obtained in the time your father Alexander II. of happy memory, saving in all things your own rights and prerogatives. But of late, something new, and, in this kingdom, unheard-of, has been introduced into your councils ; namely, that ecclesiastical persons are spoiled by laymen of possessions duly granted to them, without any concurrence of their prelates, as, in particular, has happened to the Prior of St Andrews.² Since, therefore, these, and such like things, ought not to pass unnoticed, we humbly supplicate your excellency that you will cause the goods of the said prior to be restored, and not suffer any such robbery for the future ; otherwise we will rather expose ourselves to any danger than tolerate such an inestimable loss to the church. Farewell. In testimony of which we affix our seals.'"

¹ This was the Abel who became the next Bishop of St Andrews, vol. i. p. 116.

² This must have been Prior John White; but by whom, or in what respects he had been injured, does not appear. See vol. i. p. 119.

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40. Let all know by these presents, that we Henry [Wardlaw,] by divine mercy bishop of St Andrews, are indebted to the prior and convent of our cathedral church of St Andrews, and that they are to be paid by us, £20 Scots from the fruits of the priory of the Isle of May, within six months immediately following the quiet possession of the same. The occasion of this payment is the sum granted by the said prior and convent to domini William de Nerya and James de Haldenstone, canons of our said cathedral church, when engaged in a dispute concerning the said priory of May. At St Andrews, A.D. 1414.
41. William bishop of St Andrews, confirms to William son of Lambrin, that carucate of land, viz., Balrimund, which Adam de Kinigmund holds of the prior and convent of St Andrews. To be held of the said Adam during his lifetime, he paying for the same one silver mark yearly, in two portions, at Whitsunday and Martinmas.
42. Commission by Walter [Trail] bishop of St Andrews, to Dominus Alexander Lindsay of Baltrody, and five others, to uplift all sums due from the churches of Cuneveth, Adale, Essy, Lantrethyne, Creth, Tarvet, Markinche, Kinnothy, Monimele, Cupar, Kilconquhar, &c., during their vacancy; which churches had been granted by the apostolical favour for the repair of the cathedral of St Andrews, nearly destroyed by the recent fire. At St Andrews, 1386.
43. Indenture between the prior [Simon] and convent of St Andrews, and "Gillemor Scolgo de Tarwalout, their born liegeman, (hominem eorum ligium et nativum) who gives his bond of manrede to the said prior. This "nativus" is to be lent to J. son of Morgund earl of Mar, as long as it is agreeable to the prior; but shall be restored to him, with his children, (and all their substance) as his *nativi homines*, when demanded.
44. William Cumin *clericus*, demits the church of Dull, with all its pertinents, to the prior and convent, they returning for the same sixty-eight marks annually, A.D. 1231.
45. Agreement as to certain lands which Richard King, by his last will, bequeathed to be divided between them and his daughter Goda, A.D. 1247.
46. Hugo de Foderingham guarantees to them certain houses on the Inch [Insula] of Perth, which he had sold to them, A.D. 1289.
47. John de Inchevreth [Inchyra] grants to them the fishery of Berkeles on the Tay, opposite to the one belonging to the monks of May, A.D. 1283.
48. John de Blar and his tutor, on receiving one pound of pepper

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- annually, consent to their changing the situation of the mill of Nydin, A.D. 1286.
49. Inquisition as to a form of service due to them from Walter Monypenny, heir to his father Thomas Monypenny, for the lands of Pitmilley, A.D. 1454.
 50. Duncan earl of Fife, grants them the patronage of the church of Kilgour, with the land thereto belonging, A.D. 1316.
 51. William de Rothven makes over the lands of Morehall and Forteviot, within the sheriffdom of Perth, to his brother David de Rothven ; which lands are held feudally of the prior and canons, A.D. 1400.
 52. Inquisition as to the form of service due to them from Andrew de Kinninmontht, heir to John de Kinninmontht of Craghall, for certain lands, A.D. 1482.
 53. The prior and John de Kinninmontht agree respecting the boundaries of their respective lands, A.D. 1448.
 54. Instrument of protest that the prior and canons shall receive no detriment, in all time coming, from the new parish church which the burgesses of Cupar have rashly and contumaciously begun to erect in that town without the consent of the said prior and canons, the patrons of the said church, A.D. 1431.
 55. George [Lauder] bishop of Argyll and lord of Balcomy in Fife, grants them permission to take stones from his quarry of Cragmore [Craighead] for the building or repair of their church and monastery, A.D. 1445.

In the absence of later documents respecting the priory of St Andrews, I may be allowed to finish this list with the following letter, addressed by James V. to Pope Paul III., dated 1540. He had made his natural son James commendator, and appointed Alexander Mylne abbot of Cambuskenneth, to administer the affairs of the priory till he came of age.—“Most holy father, &c. About two years ago, James, our natural son, obtained the priory of the canons-regular of St Andrews in *commendam* ; and soon after, Robert, also our natural son, got the monastery of Holyrood, of the same order ; to manage the spiritual and temporal concerns of which, we, by the power given us from the holy see, delegated Alexander abbot of the same order at Cambuskenneth, a worthy and religious man. It has been, holy father, the established custom in this kingdom, for all the ecclesiastical prelates to let their lands and tithes for nineteen years to their tenants or renters. Yet, this

Alexander, using too much severity, is in the practice of rejecting those tenants and renters of both monasteries who seek to renew or prolong their leases; on the plea that he is administering for infants, though the apostolical letters forbid such conduct in administrators. Holy father, we are anxious that everything should be done lawfully in this our provincial church. May it, therefore, please your holiness to grant to this Alexander the power to renew or prolong the leases of both monasteries for nineteen years, with consent of their respective canons, as often as he shall see fit, as former abbots and priors were wont to do in like circumstances. At Edinburgh, 5th June, 1540.”¹

James, I suspect, wanted for himself, during the minority of his children, the *finer* usually paid on the renewal of these long leases, Epist. Reg. Scot., vol. i. p. 251.

NO. VIII.

METHOD IN WHICH THE CANONS OF THE PRIORY PASSED THEIR TIME.

I may premise that these canons wore a white robe with a rochet of fine linen above, and an almuce (almutium) hanging as far down as the ground. This almuce was of fine black or gray skin brought from abroad, and frequently lined with ermine; and serves to this day to distinguish the canons-regular from the other religious orders. I may state, also, that the ritual used in their public services, was that of Salisbury, which was very generally followed all over Scotland before the Reformation. “As to the church of St Andrews,” says Mr Thomas Innes, principal of the Scots College, Paris, “I have seen an old MS. missal entire, belonging to my Lord Arbutnot, containing the ordinary service of that church, entirely conformable to the usages of *Sarum*. What time they were received into it, the loss of the ancient records of that metropolitan church leaves us in the dark.”²

The canons’ hour of rising in the morning was different, according to the different seasons of the year, and the festivals or fasts that were to be solemnized; but the usual time appears to have been about half-past one, so as to be ready in the choir by two, to

¹ Epist. Regum Scot., vol. ii. p. 72.

² Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 865.

begin the night-office, called the *Nocturnæ vigiliæ*. They were allowed as long a time to dress as enabled them to say the seven Penitential Psalms; when, upon a sign given them, they proceeded regularly into the church, each individual kneeling in the middle of the choir, and bowing reverently towards the altar before he took his seat. The *nocturnal and matutinal services* were performed together, and occupied about two hours. There was then an interval of an hour, during which the monks were at liberty to repose. At five o'clock began the service called *Prime*; at the end of which, the community went in procession to the chapter-house, where the superior gave them his blessing, and addressed to them suitable instructions and exhortations as circumstances might require. A lesson was then read from the rules of the Augustinian order. Next, the names of those appointed to any particular service were called aloud, every one bowing reverently in token of obedience, when his name and office were pronounced. Then the obits, saints' days, and anniversaries of other events to be commemorated, were given out from the church calendar. They who had been convicted of any fault, were accustomed, at this stage of the proceedings, to prostrate themselves on the ground, and, making an humble confession, entreat forgiveness. Penance was enjoined; or, if thought fit, punishment inflicted on the spot by the prior or sub-prior. Accusations were also heard against any one who had transgressed the rules of the order. This business being concluded, the canons united in saying the "*De profundis*," unless it happened to be a high festival; after which, they proceeded again to the church to assist at what was called the *Capitular mass*. There was then a vacant space, which was employed in manual labour or in study. At eight o'clock, they again proceeded, two by two, chanting the "*Salve Regina*," to the choir of the church, where they performed the office called *Terce*, which was followed by *High Mass*, and that again by the *Sext*, with brief intervals between these services. It was now near ten o'clock, at which time, when it was not a fasting day, they proceeded to the refectory to dine. Here the prior presided, having on his right hand his invited guests, and the sub-prior on his left. The monks were ranged at tables placed round the refectory, according to their offices and seniority. On one side was the reader's pulpit; for devout reading or chanting was continued during the whole time of the refecton, except on certain days of recreation, when freedom of conversation was granted by the superior. The monks waited on one another at table by weekly turns; and on some occasions the prior and sub-prior themselves performed this humble office. Only two dishes were allowed, excepting on particular occasions, when another, called a *pittance*, (usually con-

sisting of some delicate food,) was added. This was brought in after the second dish, to the superior, who caused it to be distributed among those present. Much civility and politeness was practised during dinner. The canons bowed to each other in presenting or receiving anything. He to whom the prior sent anything, first bowed to the cellarer or lay-brother who brought it, and then rising up, bowed to the superior who had sent it. They who came into the refectory too late, and without a reasonable excuse for their delay, had to say a "Paternoster" or "Ave Maria" by way of penance, sat down at the bottom of the least-frequented table, and were not entitled to any ale or wine, without special permission asked and obtained. After dinner, they returned processionally to the church, in order to say their solemn grace. There was now an interval of an hour, or an hour and a half, during part of which, those who were fatigued were at liberty to take some repose. Others employed this time in walking and conversing, excepting on those days when a general silence was enjoined. At one o'clock, the office called *Nons* was sung in the choir; at the end of which they walked or sat down in the cloister, till, on a signal being given, they entered the refectory for a few minutes, to partake of some refreshing drink. At three o'clock they assembled for vespers; at five, they once more met in the refectory to partake of what was called a *collation*, consisting chiefly of what was saved out of the forenoon meal; except on fast days, when nothing, or next to nothing, was allowed to be taken. The intermediate spaces were occupied with reading, or with manual labour, which frequently consisted in gardening, or transcribing books, or in chiselling delicate architectural ornaments for their church and monastery. After the evening collation, the last office, called *Complin*, was performed, which lasted till near seven o'clock; and then, after taking a light supper, they all retired to the dormitory, which was a long gallery joining the south transept of the cathedral, and containing thirty-four beds separated from each other by thin boards or curtains. On these the canons took their rest, frequently without undressing. Sheets were not allowed except in cases of sickness. They began latterly, however, to relax somewhat in their rigid observance of these rules; and, in 1460, Pope Pius II. gave them a special permission to dispense with several of them.

No. IX.

THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.
ANSWERS TO OBJECTIONS.

As I have made so many allusions to this subject, and attached so much importance to it in the body of my work, it may be expected that I should both defend the opinion I have advanced, and offer some answer to the objections which are commonly brought against it by Anti-Episcopalian writers.

It has been asked, how we can be absolutely certain that the line of succession of the Christian priesthood has not, in any case, been broken since the apostles' times? I answer, *first*, how were the Jews absolutely certain that no case of illegitimacy had ever invalidated the claims of any one family of the Aaronic priesthood? Whatever doubt may now be thrown upon the *elective* Episcopal succession, the same doubt might formerly have been thrown by a caviller, on the steps of the *hereditary* Jewish succession; nay, from the very nature of the case, our succession is much more easily determined than theirs could be; especially as the ecclesiastical canons required three bishops to assist at the consecration of one of the same order.

But, not to dwell upon this point, I answer, *secondly*, how do we know that the Bible is now the same book which it was, when it came out of the hands of the inspired writers? Who fixed upon the present books of the New Testament, out of the many spurious ones which claimed to be canonical? and by whom have they been transmitted to us of the present day? They were fixed upon by the early fathers of the Christian church, and they have been most carefully transmitted to us by their successors in all the following ages. The utmost care was taken to admit nothing but what was genuine into the sacred canon; and equal care was taken to hand that down unimpaired to succeeding generations.

Now, the very same thing happened with the Episcopal succession; and hence we have as much reason to rely on the genuineness of the one, as we have on the genuineness of the other. They both rest on the same foundation; namely, the great care of the church, under God, to preserve the precious treasure committed to her. The apostles *began* the line of the succession; the early fathers of the church *continued* it; and the bishops of the intermediate ages have *transmitted* it to us. They themselves profess to have done so; and we have no more reason to doubt the regular ordination of the clergy, and consecration of the bishops, than we have

reason to doubt the regular succession of an elective monarchy, though, from the want of records, there may be a chasm in the list of the monarchs' names, or in the ceremonies of their coronation. We have no more reason to question the succession of our bishops, than we have to question their baptism, or their reception of the eucharist, though we have no existing records of either the one or the other. In short, the church carefully transmitted to us the Bible uncorrupted through the middle ages; and equally careful was she to hand down the Episcopal succession unbroken.

But, it may be alleged, that we have not the successive steps of each, or of any episcopal line, transmitted to us. Allowing that we have not, (which is allowing too much,) I reply that the contrary is more than we have a right to ask, or any reason to expect. And, on the same ground, we have not a full history of each, or of any ancient MS. of the Scriptures, or of the various copies which were made from it; and yet who doubts that such MSS. were anxiously preserved, and copies carefully made from them? But we meet with numerous incidental allusions to the consecrations of particular bishops in every age of the church; and we find in all of these a close adherence to the practice of duly consecrating them by those who had themselves been previously invested with the episcopal office. Moreover, whenever a bishop is officially mentioned, or his name occurs as a witness to a charter, the distinction is carefully made between *episcopus* and *electus*; the former designation being never given to him till after his consecration. This rule holds uniformly and universally. And to take the history of the Bishops of St Andrews, there is hardly one, after the church of Rome obtained a footing in Scotland, whose consecration is not historically alluded to; and we may fairly take this bishopric as an example of all others—*ex uno disce omnes*. But, in point of fact, we have the names and successions of the bishops of almost every see in Great Britain and Ireland, from the period of its erection, with far fewer chasms and omissions than might have been expected. I do not see how we could look for more evidence of the doctrine of the episcopal succession than this. If our opponents are not satisfied with it, let them take the *onus disprobandi* (if I may coin a word) upon themselves: let them disprove it if they are able.

It is admitted that we got our succession through the Roman Catholic Church; but let it be remembered that we got our Bible and our Christianity through the same channel; for, if the connecting link of the Roman church had been destroyed, for the six or seven centuries during which it actually existed in this land, and no other occupied its place, it is, I think, extremely probable, if not quite certain, that we should not have been Christians at this

day, even in name. Let no one, therefore, object to the line through which we have received our succession, seeing we have derived our faith and practice, as Christians, through the same line; but rather let us bless God, that amidst all the obscurity of the middle ages, this line should have reached to us, and guided our feet “into the way of peace” in so essential a point as the uninterrupted transmission of the office of the priesthood.

But as other objections are frequently offered to the doctrine I am now contending for, I will here very briefly reply to some of the more prominent of them.

Objection 1. You, by this argument, unchurch many Christian denominations.—*Answer.* We unchurch them not; but have they not unchurched themselves?

Objection 2. You uncharitably exclude them from the pale of Christ’s church, and thereby from final salvation.—*Answer.* It is much more charitable to urge them to return to the Church than to soothe them in their schism. They are the uncharitable persons who speak lightly of the sin of schism, which God has condemned, and thereby prevent separatists from joining themselves to His church. And as to final salvation, we do not pronounce on their *final destiny*, but only remind them of their *present duty*.

Objection 3. An irregularly-ordained priesthood is better than none.—*Answer.* When the Jews were in captivity at Babylon, they did not dare to sacrifice, because they had no temple, altar, or priesthood. When we cannot have God’s positive institutions, we must not set up our own in their stead; and much less when we *can* have His.

Objection 4. Sound faith, and a correct practice, will be of more avail than the purest succession.—*Answer.* We contend for the necessity of *both*. The outward and visible sign must never be separated from the inward and spiritual grace. St Chrysostom says, “Christians ought to contend for valid ordination as earnestly as for the faith itself; for if it be lawful for every pretender to consecrate and make himself a priest, then farewell altar, and farewell church and priesthood too.”¹

Objection 5. But the true church is invisible, and consists of good men of all denominations.—*Answer.* If these be really good men, what hinders them from uniting visibly, as well as invisibly? What kind of a union is that which consists of religious sects and parties, so disunited that their very ministers cannot consistently exchange pulpits with each other, or administer the sacraments to any but their own followers? “I pray that they all may be *one*;

¹ Tom. iii. p. 822. Savile’s edition, 1612.

as thou Father art in me and I in thee that they also may be one in us; *that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.*" (John xvii. 21.) How, I ask, could this union among Christ's disciples be a proof to "the world" of his divine mission, unless it were a **VISIBLE** union? And why is it that the world does not believe, or believes only to so limited an extent, but because it does not witness this union? The world will believe, and the heathen will be converted, when Christians are at one among themselves, but assuredly not sooner.

Objection 6. Your episcopal succession has come down through impure channels.—*Answer.* So did the Aaronic succession; nay, so did the genealogical succession of our Saviour himself, *e. g.* Judah and Tamar, David and Bathsheba. And as to the *alleged* idolatry of Rome, that did not unchurch her, any more than did the *actual* idolatry of the Jews unchurch them.

Objection 7. But the church of Rome, which gave you your commission, has excommunicated you, and thereby withdrawn it.—*Answer,* 1st, Our commission is apostolical, not Roman; we do not derive it *from* Rome, but merely *through* Rome; and, 2d, Holy orders are indelible, even by the admission of Rome herself. She has excommunicated us for renouncing her usurped supremacy; but she cannot, and does not pretend to deprive of the power of ordaining, those who have once rightly received that power. In like manner, we could, under no circumstances whatever, take from the American church the succession which we once communicated to her.

Objection 8. The Romanists themselves disclaim the episcopal succession.—*Answer.* Not so. Some of their Jesuits, canonists, and schoolmen, have said as much, with a view to exalt the pope by confining the succession to the see of Rome. But the council of Trent says, (Session 23, ch. 4,) "Bishops are the true successors of the apostles;" and, (Session 23, cau. 6,) "If any one say that there is no hierarchy by divine appointment, which consists of bishops, priests, and deacons, let him be anathema."

Objection 9. Our Saviour and his apostles were not so particular as you are; for they recognised as high priests some who had been so profane as to *buy* this office from King Herod.—*Answer.* True; but Josephus assures us that they were all of the family of Aaron: they were validly and legally, though simoniacally constituted.

Objection 10. The names "bishop" and "presbyter" are used synonymously in the New Testament.—*Answer.* True; the distinction of names was not introduced till afterwards; but St Paul commanded Timothy and Titus individually to ordain, and preside

over, the said bishops or presbyters, and deacons ; that is, he made them bishops in the modern sense of the word. And what *he* has instituted, it cannot be safe for *us* to dispense with.

Objection 11. But Timothy was himself ordained “with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.”—*Answer.* 1st, It is well known that both Calvin and St Jerome put an interpretation on this obscure text, which is fatal to the Presbyterian opinion. But, 2dly, Admitting this opinion to be correct, St Paul says, (2 Tim. i. 6,) that Timothy was ordained “*by* (ἐκ) the laying on of his hands ;” and, (1 Tim. iv. 14,) “*with* (μετὰ) the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.” Now, this is precisely what is done in the episcopal church at this day. The bishop ordains *by* his individual authority, but *with* the assistance and concurrence of certain presbyters. (See the Church of England office “for the ordering of priests.”) 3dly, A presbyter, in apostolic times, was an episcopally-ordained priest. They, therefore, who are not thus ordained, are not presbyters, but only laymen ; and if true presbyters could not by themselves ordain, much less can pretended ones. There are two or three examples recorded in the early church, of presbyters taking upon themselves to ordain ; but they were invariably censured or excommunicated for so doing, and their orders nullified. Much more would this have been done, had the ordainers not been themselves episcopally ordained ; and most of all, had they been mere laymen who had cut themselves off from the communion of the church Catholic.

Objection 12. But there is a difference of opinion even among Episcopalians on this subject.—*Answer.* The immense majority of those who have examined the subject, are with us. There is hardly any error, in favour of which some great names may not be quoted. Hooker thinks that, in cases of “inevitable necessity,” episcopal ordination may be superseded, (Book vii. ch. 14, sec. 11.) In conceding even thus much, he stands almost alone among our great divines ; but where, I ask, has existed this inevitable necessity in the case of any one of the reformed denominations ? And, after all, the real question is, not what are the opinions of individuals, but, what is truth ?

Objection 13. We see no difference between Episcopalians and others. There are good and bad men among both.—*Answer.* You see no difference between baptized and unbaptized persons, or between a legitimate and illegitimate offspring, or even between a Jew and a Christian. It is not what *we see*, but what *God requires*.

Objection 14. It is not likely that providence would permit so large a body of Christians as Presbyterians to err so materially as you represent.—*Answer.* Providence has permitted much larger

bodies of Christians to err materially, viz. Roman Catholics ; nay, it has permitted Mahomedans and Pagans to err still more widely, who greatly outnumber all the Christians in the world.

Objection 15. There is no mention of the episcopal succession in the New Testament.—*Answer.* This is the most plausible objection of any ; but there need be no real difficulty in meeting it. We gather, from numerous incidental notices in St Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus, that he appointed these two individuals to ordain and rule over presbyters and deacons, and to "set in order such things as were wanting" in the churches of Ephesus and Crete respectively ; but he could hardly be expected to write anything about the succession, both because it is evident he had said many things to his converts when he was with them, which are not recorded, (2 Thess. ii. 5, 15,) and also because he knew that such men as Timothy, Titus, Barnabas, Epaphroditus, Silvanus, and Clement, were perfectly able, after the general directions he had given them, to instruct Christians in matters of church polity. His silence on these points must therefore be supplied from the writings of the early fathers, their canons, and decrees of their general councils, which have providentially come down to us—"antiquity, universality, and general consent." This conjoined authority of the apostles partially originating, and their immediate successors fully developing and perpetuating, is *binding on Christians*, (Matt. xviii. 18,) being the only ground on which they can meet for the great purpose of settling the constitution of the church, the succession of her priesthood, and the unity of her usages. We have all willingly submitted to this authority in regard to infant baptism,—the change from the seventh to the first day of the week, (including the performance of divine service on that day in edifices set apart for the purpose,)—and that most fundamental of all articles, the establishment of the Scripture canon. These three points the New Testament had only obscurely hinted at ; but the Church, by the authority committed to her, has finally settled and determined them ; and we are equally bound by the same authority, in respect to the episcopal succession, which existed uninterruptedly in the Church for fifteen hundred years together. The New Testament, it is to be observed, contains rather matters of faith than matters of discipline. It gives the *spirit* of religion ; but the Church provides a *body* in which the spirit may be lodged and sheltered from danger. And as profane history, which records the fulfilment of prophecies, is supplementary to, and explanatory of the sacred history which contains those prophecies, so the recorded opinions and practices of the early Church are supplementary to Scripture, and form the standard by which its sense must be explained. By rejecting this standard, and setting up their own private judgment instead, the modern Christian deno-

minations have destroyed the very idea of a church; and hence, to the reproach of Protestantism, are divided into a multitude of conflicting parties: “so insufficient is a mere acquaintance with the sacred writings to secure unlearned and prejudiced minds from the wildest perversions of their meaning.”

Objection 16. Dr M'Crie says, “We challenge Mr M—— to produce a single writer of the Church of England, before Dr Bancroft, who pleaded for the divine institution of episcopacy, or the necessity of the imposition of hands of a bishop, to constitute a valid ordination to the ministry.”—*Answer*, 1st. No one in England, before Dr Bancroft's time, attacked the divine institution of episcopacy; and hence it was not necessary to plead for it. But, 2d, Consider these words in the preface to the “*Ordering of Deacons*” in our Prayer-book:—“It is evident unto all men diligently reading the *Holy Scriptures* and *ancient authors*, that from the *apostles' time*, there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, bishops, priests, and deacons.” The preface then goes on to say, that episcopacy being thus divinely instituted, “No man shall be accounted a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon, in the united Church of England and Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereto, according to the form hereafter following, (which form involves ‘the necessity of the imposition of the hands of a bishop,’) or hath had formerly *episcopal* consecration or ordination.” And in accordance with this it is well known, that when a Roman Catholic divine joins our church, having had already episcopal ordination, he is not re-ordained; whereas when a dissenting minister, of any denomination whatever, seeks to be admitted as a clergyman among us, he must be episcopally ordained before being allowed to exercise clerical functions.

Objection 17. After all, the episcopal succession is one of the non-essentials of Christianity; and since we cannot think otherwise, we must agree to differ on this point.—*Answer*. The real question is, Has Christ appointed a priesthood in His Church? and if so, What are the marks by which a priest is to be distinguished from a layman? Christian ministers are called their Master's “ambassadors;” and being so, they must be nominated by a competent authority, and be able to show their credentials—credentials, and an authority which must, moreover, be common to the whole body of the priesthood in all ages of the Church. If we reject the distinction here contended for, a chartist weaver has precisely the same right to preach the gospel, and administer the sacraments, that the Moderator of the General Assembly has, or even the archbishop of Canterbury. In short, I hesitate not to say, that the episcopal succession is an inseparable adjunct of Christianity; essential to its wel-

fare, and necessary to its permanent existence. It is, as Bishop Beveridge calls it, "the root of all Christian communion;" and if not *the*, certainly *an* "articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ."¹ And as to "agreeing to differ," God forbid we should agree to do what Scripture has expressly forbidden. As well might we agree to break all the commands of the Decalogue, as agree to remain in our present state of religious disunion. It is bad enough to break the divine commandments internally; but to agree and resolve to break them externally would, indeed, be the height of profaneness. However small may be our present prospect of unity, let us not sin against God by ceasing to pray for it.

No. X.

POPE CLEMENT III. CONFIRMS TO WILLIAM KING OF SCOTLAND,
THE LIBERTIES OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH, AND EXEMPTS IT
FROM ALL JURISDICTION BUT THAT OF ROME, A.D. 1188.

"Clemens, episcopus, &c., to our dearly beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of Scotland, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Seeing that all who are subject to Christ's yoke, ought to find favour and support from the apostolic see, especially those whose faith and devotion have been tried, and that the more they are moved by reverence for us, the more they should experience our benevolence; therefore, knowing the reverence and devotion which for a long time you have entertained towards this see, we have decreed, by these presents, that the Scottish church ought to be subject to her mother the apostolic see direct, (nullo mediante,) in which church we recognise the following dioceses: St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dumblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Caithness.² And it shall not be lawful for any one but the Roman pontiff, or a legate sent "ab ipsius lateris," to interdict the kingdom of Scotland, or to issue against it a sentence of excommunication; and if he do, it shall be null and void. Moreover, no

¹ How truly has Luther's celebrated "articulus" been that of a "*cadentis ecclesiæ*!" His church is well known to have *fallen*—and no wonder. How, too, has Geneva fallen, where an apostolical episcopacy was equally rejected! There is no example of a religious community, however pure in other respects, standing long without this ingredient; and even a partially corrupt one may stand long with it, as Rome has done.

² It is remarkable that Galloway should be omitted. Perhaps it was at this time in the province of York.

one who does not belong to the said kingdom of Scotland, shall exercise the office of legate, unless it be some one whom the apostolic see shall specially send "de suo corpore." And we forbid that the controversies which lately arose in that kingdom concerning its possessions, be carried to any foreign court but our own. If any one decree to the contrary, let no damage arise to you or your kingdom therefrom. And besides this, we hold as confirmed and entire, in all time coming, whatever liberties and privileges have been granted by our predecessors the Roman pontiffs to your kingdom and the church therein. Therefore let no one infringe this our decree. If he presume so to do, let him know that he will thereby incur the vengeance of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles, St Peter and St Paul. Given at the Lateran, 3d Ides of March, in the first year of our pontificate."

The foregoing bull was renewed by Innocent III. Fordun, lib. iii. cap. 67.

Note.—Bishop Nicholson, in the Appendix to his "Scottish Historical Library," gives some copies of papal bulls from the Cottonian library, enjoining on the Scots obedience to the see of York. But, *first*, these bulls have neither the number of the pope's name, nor the year of our Lord; so that we cannot know what period they refer to. And, *secondly*, allowing them to be genuine, it is certain that they were reversed by the bulls of subsequent popes.

No. XI.

POPE INNOCENT III. EMPOWERS THE ABBOTS OF ARBROATH AND LINDORES, AND THE PRIOR OF MAY, TO FINISH A CONTROVERSY WHICH HAD ARISEN BETWEEN THE PRIORY AND THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, CONCERNING THE CHURCH OF ROSSINCLERACH, A.D. 1215.

"Innocent, episcopus, &c., to the Abbots of Arbroath and Lindores, and the Prior of the Isle of May, salutem, &c. On the part of our dear sons the prior and convent of St Andrews in Scotland, it has been represented to us, that when formerly there was a controversy between them on the one part, and M. of good memory, *clericus* of Pert, in the diocese of St Andrews, on the other, concerning the church of Rossinclerach, we referred the same to our venerable brother the Bishop of Dunkeld, and his coadjutors,

in order that they should judge canonically between the parties as to their right of property ; who accordingly proceeded to do what was required of them within six months after the receipt of our letters ; calling before them certain old men as witnesses, with a view to the settlement of the dispute ; but that, in the meantime, the said M., having gone the way of all flesh, the prior and canons went to their diocesan bishop, and protesting in full synod that no one should be instituted into the said church to their detriment, appealed to the Roman see : and that, nevertheless, the said bishop, overruling their appeal, instituted one William, *clericus* of Glasgow, into the said church. We therefore, anxious to put an end to this strife, call on you to inquire into the same, and within six months to bring it to a termination, without leave of appeal ; enforcing your sentence, if necessary, by ecclesiastical censures : and if any of the appointed witnesses should withdraw, through fear or favour, you are, by like censures, to compel them also to give their testimony to the truth, no letters to the contrary having been obtained from the apostolic see. And if all of you cannot be present at this inquiry, let two at least be present. Finally, watch over such things as are entrusted to your care, in suppressing vice and promoting virtue, that, in the day of judgment, you may give in a good account to Him who will render unto every man according to his deeds. Given at the Lateran, 5 kal. Nov., the seventeenth year of our pontificate."¹

No. XII.

POPE HONORIUS III. EXEMPTS THE BISHOP AND CLERGY OF ST ANDREWS, IN DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM AND THE PRIORY, FROM THE JURISDICTION OF THE ABBOT AND COLLEGE OF MELROSE, A.D. 1220.

"Honorius, episcopus, &c., to William [Malvoisin] bishop of St Andrews, &c. A petition having formerly been sent to us from the prior and canons of St Andrews in Scotland, to the effect that, seeing they dwelt in distant parts, it was too expensive for them to appeal to Rome for every injury they sustained at the hands of bishops and others—We, willing to remedy this inconvenience, are said to have given an authority to our dear sons, the Abbot of

¹ The original is in the Advocates' Library.

Melrose, and his college, that when called on by the said prior and canons, they might, by means of ecclesiastical censures, and without power of appeal, compel those found guilty within the diocese of St Andrews to restore whatever had been unjustly taken from the said prior and canons, and afford them relief for any injury inflicted upon them. But you lately having brought before us a grievous complaint that they, in consequence of this power, had not only despised your authority, but vexed you with expensive and troublesome suits; therefore we, anxious to restrain human caprice, grant, by this our apostolical mandate, that neither you, nor your clergy, nor even your seneschal, be any longer liable to be sued by them. Given at Veterbii, the nones of March, in the fourth year of our pontificate."¹

No. XIII.

POPE HONORIUS III. AUTHORIZES THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS TO HOLD
PROVINCIAL COUNCILS—METHOD OF PROCEEDING IN THE SAME,
A.D. 1225.

"Honorius, episcopus, servus, &c., to all our venerable brother bishops of the kingdom of Scotland, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Certain of your number have lately intimated to us, that since you have no archbishop by whose authority a provincial council may be held, it sometimes happens that, in a kingdom so far removed from the apostolic see, the decrees of general councils are unregarded, and various irregularities committed which ought to be corrected; and, since provincial councils ought not to be omitted, wherein diligence should be used for preventing excesses and reforming morals, and where the canons should be read, and the decrees kept, those especially which are passed at general councils,—therefore, we, by our apostolic authority, command that, so long as you are without a metropolitan, you shall hold a council for the said purposes.—Given at Rome, 14 kal. Jun. ninth year of our pontificate.

"1. *The order of Procession in the Council of the Scottish Clergy.*

"First, let the bishops be dressed in their albs and copes, with the mitres they are accustomed to wear, and their gloves, each having in his hand his pastoral staff. Let the abbots be dressed in their

¹ The original is in the Advocates' Library.

surplices and copes; the mitred abbots wearing their mitres; the deans and archdeacons in their surplices, almuceas, and copes. Let the rest of the clergy be habited in a becoming manner. Next, let two taper-bearers, dressed in their albs and amicts, with burning tapers in their hands, precede the deacon who is to read the gospel, 'I am the shepherd,' &c. The latter is to be attended by the sub-deacon, and shall ask the benediction of the conservator, if present, or, if absent, of the senior bishop. When the gospel has been read, let the book be kissed by the conservator, and by each of the bishops. Then let the conservator begin the hymn *Veni Creator*, and at every verse let the altar be incensed by the bishops; after which, he who has been appointed to preach the sermon, having received the conservator's benediction, shall commence his discourse at the horn of the altar. When the sermon is ended, let the names of those cited to attend in the council be called, and let absentees be punished according to the statutes; which statutes being there publicly read over, let the bishops, with candles in their hands, excommunicate according to the same.

" 2. *On the Assembling of the Scottish Council.*

"The canons of the general councils, as Isidorus says, originated in the time of the Emperor Constantine, by means of which, as the Catholic faith was diffused, the holy Roman church, and the holy fathers assembling in the Nicene council, delivered to the faithful that which, according to the evangelic and apostolic faith, was to be received as certain; decreeing, among other things, (as the blessed Pope Gregory writes,) that, as I confess that I receive and venerate four holy gospels, so also I receive and venerate four councils, viz., those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon; in which, heresies, and those who impugned the Catholic faith, were confounded, and the Christian religion, to the glory of God, and the salvation of all the faithful, was established on a firm foundation; agreeably to which it has been wisely instituted, that, throughout the provinces and kingdoms of the Catholic princes, provincial councils should be, every year, assembled for maintaining the purity of the church, and for the constant preservation of the Catholic faith; to which custom, in the Scottish church, Pope Honorius granted his special consent in these words: 'Honorius, episcopus, servus servorum Dei,' &c., (see above.) Therefore, by the authority of God Almighty, and of the holy canons, and of the inviolably sacred Roman church, we, the prelates of the Scottish church, holding a provincial council after the manner of our predecessors, and reverencing their laudable practice, unanimously decree and ordain that the bishops, abbots, and priors do, each and

all, every year, devoutly assemble in their accustomed habits, on a certain day, to be duly notified beforehand by the conservator, that they may be able to continue their sittings for three days, as the necessities of religion and the church shall seem to require, after they have invoked the assistance of the Holy Spirit to reform the state of the church ; a work which, while it is an incumbent duty, is also very pleasing to God. If any one be, by a canonical impediment, prevented from attending, let him send a substitute ; but if any one do not appear personally, and refuse to come when he might do so, let him be punished by the authority of the council, and in such a manner as to it shall seem proper.

“ 3. In what manner the Conservator ought to be Elected.

“ In the first place, we decree, that, to each of the bishops in succession, there be every year appointed, against the next council, a text, to be expounded by him, or by some other person, beginning with the bishop of St Andrews ; and that one of the bishops, on the motion, and with the consent of the rest, be made conservator of the statutes of the council, who shall hold office from one council to another, and punish the open and notorious abusers of the same, or violators of any of the statutes passed therein, and compel them to make due satisfaction by means of the censures of the church.”

Then follow the Canons of the church, eighty-four in number, as given in Dalrymple's Annals, vol. iii. They are interesting, and throw considerable light on the ecclesiastical customs of the middle ages in Scotland. I had prepared a translation of them, but have not ventured to insert it in this work, because it is somewhat long, and the subject has no immediate connexion with St Andrews.

No. XIV.

POPE INNOCENT IV. AUTHORIZES ABEL BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, TO REFUSE CHURCH BENEFICES, UNLESS WITH HIS OWN CONSENT, OR BY AN EXPRESS PAPAL MANDATE, A.D. 1254.

“ Innocent, episcopus, servus, &c., to our venerable brother the Bishop of St Andrews, salutem, &c. Seeing we sincerely love you in the Lord, we gladly listen to your petitions relative to such things as concern your honour. Moved, therefore, by your prayers, we grant, by this our authority, that you be not compelled by any

one to bestow ecclesiastical pensions or benefices; nor shall any one obtain, without your leave, any benefice in your gift, in virtue of letters from us or our legates; nor shall it be lawful for any one to assume a right to such benefice, without our special mandate fully and distinctly authorizing the same. Therefore, let no one infringe this, &c. Given at the Lateran, 12 kal. April., the eleventh year of our pontificate."¹

No. XV.

POPE ALEXANDER IV. EMPOWERS THE ABBOT OF DUNFERMLINE, AND THE ARCHDEACONS OF DUNKELD AND TEVIOTDALE, TO FINISH A CONTROVERSY WHICH HAD ARISEN BETWEEN THE PRIOR AND CHAPTER OF ST ANDREWS ON THE ONE HAND, AND CERTAIN KNIGHTS ON THE OTHER, RESPECTING THE ERECTION OF CHAPELS WITHIN THE PARISHES OF THE FORMER, WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT, A.D. 1254.

"Alexander, episcopus, &c., to our dear sons the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the Archdeacons of Dunkeld and Teviotdale, &c. The prior and chapter of the cathedral church of St Andrews have complained to us, that though it was their privilege that no one should presume to erect any chapel or oratory within the limits of their parishes, without their consent, yet David [Bernham] of good memory, bishop of St Andrews, having lately brought "brothers of the Holy Trinity, and of captives," within the said limits, had, of his own act, granted leave to William de Valoynes and other knights, to erect chapels for their use, to the detriment of the said prior and chapter. They have therefore humbly entreated us, that we would cause the said brothers to be removed from their parishes, and the said knights hindered from building chapels within the same; and we, being unacquainted with the facts of the case, require, by our apostolical authority, that you, having summoned and heard the parties, determine what is right, without appeal, causing your decision to be enforced by our authority, notwithstanding that some of the said parties be exempted from excommunication, suspension, or interdiction. And if you cannot all be present at this inquiry, &c. Given at Anegnie, 6 non. Jul., in the first year of our pontificate."²

¹ The original is in the Advocates' Library.

² Ibid.

No. XVI.

POPE ALEXANDER IV. COMMANDS GAMELINE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, TO PROHIBIT KING ALEXANDER III. FROM SEIZING THE REVENUES OF HIS CHURCH, A.D. 1254.

“Alexander, episcopus, servus, &c., &c., to our venerable brother the bishop of St Andrews, salutem, &c. Though we have the care of all the churches, yet we are specially bound to watch over those which hold of us immediately *nullo mediante*, by superintending and protecting their interests. Therefore, being desirous, as far as we are able, to secure the church of St Andrews from damage after your decease, we, by these presents, forbid our dearly beloved the illustrious king of Scotland, or any other person, to seize the property of the said church, when they have no right to the same. Therefore let no one infringe this, &c. Given at Avignon, 12 kal. Dec., the first year of our pontificate.”¹

No. XVII.

POPE ALEXANDER IV. URGES HENRY III. KING OF ENGLAND, TO USE HIS ENDEAVOURS WITH ALEXANDER III. OF SCOTLAND, TO DEFEND THE BISHOP AND CHURCH OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1256.

“Alexander, episcopus, &c., to our well-beloved in Christ the illustrious king of England, salutem, &c. We know your royal mind to be so imbued with piety, that you desire to maintain inviolate the liberty which the divine goodness has conferred upon the church and her ministers; and that in all such cases you will give a favourable ear to our prayers. We have heard with grief that certain counsellors (but who would be better named deceivers) of our dear son the King of Scotland, have so perverted his tender mind by evil advice, that the apostolical privileges in his kingdom are broken; the church, by his authority, or rather by his severity, trampled under foot; its freedom violated; and churchmen subjected to such a weight of miserable bondage, as I wish may not prove the scandal and ruin of their country.”² And though the said king

¹ The original is in the Advocates' Library.

² Even Caiaphas prophesied, and prophesied truly.

inflict these calamities on the church of Scotland generally; yet chiefly against the church of St Andrew (which, on account of the reverence due to that holy apostle, has been always more esteemed than the rest, and more favoured by former kings of Scotland) has he so strengthened the malice of the aforesaid evil counsellors, that our venerable brother Gameline, bishop of the same, (who is known to us and to all his brethren for his many merits, and for his devotedness to his king,) has been spoiled of all his goods, and banished out of his church, to the unspeakable injury thereof, and contempt of the holy apostle St Andrew. Seeing, therefore, we know you are interested in the honour and happiness of the said King of Scotland, we earnestly beseech your highness, by this our apostolical letter, and by the reverence you entertain for God and for us, that you would so interpose your good offices with him, that the attempts of the wicked being defeated, the said bishop and church may be restored to their former liberty, and their welfare not in future affected, nor their property seized, nor their rights infringed; that thus you may make the Eternal King propitious to yourself, your offspring, and your kingdom.

"Neither a regard to our own conscience, nor to the King of Scotland's salvation, will permit us to overlook iniquity; and it is better to administer useful correction, than to connive at even the appearance of evil. Given at the Lateran, 17 kal. Januar., the second year of our pontificate."¹

No. XVIII.

POPE ALEXANDER IV. EMPOWERS THE ABBOTS OF DRYBURGH AND JEDBURGH TO CAUSE ANY PROPERTY THAT MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN FROM THE PRIORY OF ST ANDREWS TO BE RESTORED TO IT, A.D. 1257.

"Alexander, episcopus, &c., to our dear sons the Abbots of Dryburgh and Jedburgh, &c. Moved by the prayers of the Prior and chapter of the church of St Andrews, of the order of St Augustine, in Scotland, we command, by the authority of these presents, that whatever property you find, upon inquiry, has been alienated from the said church, you use your endeavours to cause the same to be restored; checking, by ecclesiastical censures, such as may oppose

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 615.

you herein ; and compelling, by like censures, the witnesses of the said alienation to give true testimony thereof, if, through fear or favour, they are hindered from so doing. Given at the Lateran, 13 kal. Feb., the third year of your pontificate.”¹

No. XIX.

HENRY III. KING OF ENGLAND, ORDERS THE BAILIES OF HIS CINQUE PORTS TO ARREST GAMELINE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, SHOULD HE ENTER INTO HIS DOMINIONS, A.D. 1258.

“ The king, to his barons and bailies of Dover and the other cinque ports, *salutem*. Whereas Magister Gameline bishop of St Andrews has obtained, not without great scandal, certain requests at the court of Rome, to the prejudice of our beloved and faithful son, Alexander king of Scotland, who is married to our daughter, on which account we are unwilling to allow him to enter our dominions ; therefore we send you our attendant, William Doiset, to watch the approach of the said bishop and his followers coming either from foreign parts or from the kingdom of Scotland, commanding that you cause him and them to be arrested, as the said William shall direct in our name, till you receive orders to the contrary. At Windsor, 22d day of January, 1258.”²

No. XX.

POPE ALEXANDER IV. EMPOWERS THE BISHOP OF DUNKELD TO INQUIRE INTO A COMPLAINT MADE BY THE PRIOR AND CANONS OF ST ANDREWS, THAT CERTAIN NOBLEMEN HAD INJURED THEM, A.D. 1258.

“ Alexander, episcopus, &c., to the venerable the Bishop of Dunkeld, &c. The prior and monastery of the cathedral church of St Andrews in Scotland, of the order of St Augustine, having shown us that certain noblemen, David de Londres, William de Brechin,

¹ The original is in the Advocates' Library.

² Rymer, vol. i. p. 652.

Hugo Giffard, Robert de Meynera, William de Haya, and other laymen of the dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Dunkeld, have injured the said monastery in regard to their lands, rents, and other properties, we therefore require you, by our apostolical authority, to summon the said parties before you, to hear their pleas, pronounce sentence without leave of appeal, and enforce the same, if necessary, by ecclesiastical censures; provided only that you lay no sentence of excommunication or interdict on the lands of the said noblemen, without an express mandate from us: and you are to compel, by like censures, the witnesses of the said injury to give true testimony thereof, &c. Given at Avignon, kal. Dec., in the fourth year of our pontificate."¹

No. XXI.

POPE ALEXANDER IV. COMMANDS GAMELINE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS TO PROHIBIT KING ALEXANDER III. FROM SEIZING THE PROPERTY OF HIS CHURCH, A.D. 1259.

"Alexander, episcopus, &c., to our venerable brother the Bishop of St Andrews, &c. Our wish is, as far as we are able, with God's help, to protect your church of St Andrews from future injury, especially after your decease. Therefore, let not our dear son the illustrious king of Scotland, or any one else, take possession of the property of the said church, seeing that they have no right thereto, and that we strictly forbid them by this our authority. Let no one therefore infringe, &c. Given at Avignon, 12 kal. Dec., in the fifth year of our pontificate."²

No. XXII.

CITATION OF KING JOHN BALIOL BY EDWARD I. TO APPEAR BEFORE HIM, RELATIVE TO THE ALIENATION OF THE PRIORY OF THE ISLE OF MAY FROM THE ABBEY OF READING TO THE BISHOPRIC OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1293.

"The king and lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland, to his

¹ The original is in the Advocates' Library.

² Ibid.

beloved and faithful son John, the illustrious king of Scotland, salutem. We have learnt from our brothers Allan de Eston and Hugo de Stœnnford, procurators of the religious abbot and convent of Reading, which was founded by the charity of our predecessors the Kings of England, that David king of Scotland, of good memory, your predecessor, invested the said abbey, and the monks there serving God, and their successors, with the priory of the Isle of May, in the diocese of St Andrews in your kingdom of Scotland, in pure and perpetual charity, on condition that the said monks and their successors should cause obits to be performed by their brother priests for the soul of the said King David, and those of his predecessors and successors; and that these monks have always quietly held the said priory and its pertinents, in virtue of the above investment, till a certain Robert de Burghgate, late abbot of the monastery of Reading, and predecessor of the present abbot, alienated the said priory without the consent of the greater or wiser part of his monastery, in favour of the venerable William [Wishart] bishop of St Andrews, to our prejudice and that of our kingdom; and that the aforesaid procurators applied to you, and urged you many times that you would be pleased to hear them, and to do justice to the petition which they made to you concerning the said priory, offering to prove their allegations in due form, before you; yet, putting them off, on the feigned pretext of an appeal from your authority by the said bishop of St Andrews to the apostolic see, you refused to proceed farther in this business, and denied justice to the said procurators; on which account, they, in the name of the said religious abbot and convent, have appealed to us, as to the lord superior of Scotland, entreating us to do them justice in the premises:—Seeing, therefore, it is our duty to do justice to all who seek it at our hands, we require that you appear before us, fifteen days after the next feast of St Martin, in whatever part of England we may then be, to answer to the complaint and petition of the said abbot and convent; on which day we have also summoned the same persons, in order that equal justice may be done to both parties, as circumstances shall be found to require. In testimony of which, &c. At Danton, 2d Sept.”¹

Note.—What compensation bishop Wishart gave for the priory of the Isle of May is not stated; but it appears from No. 11. of the Denmyne papers, that it paid sixteen marks annually to its parent monastery of Reading, which payment was afterwards transferred to the priory of St Andrews.

¹ Rotuli Scotie.

XXIII.

TREATY BETWEEN ROBERT BRUCE EARL OF CARRICK, (AFTERWARDS KING ROBERT I.,) AND WILLIAM DE LAMBERTON BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1304, AS ATTESTED TWO YEARS AFTER, AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, BY THE AGENTS OF EDWARD I. WHEN THE BISHOP FELL INTO THEIR HANDS.

“Memorandum—That in the year of our Lord M.CCC.IV., on the day of St Barnabas the apostle, (11th June,) the reverend father in Christ, Lord William de Lamberton, by the grace of God bishop of St Andrews, and the noble Lord Robert de Brus earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale, having met at Cambuskenneth, and having conferred together concerning their future dangers, and being desirous to shun them as far as possible, and to resist the attempts of their common enemies, have entered into a treaty of friendship, as follows : Namely, that they shall consult faithfully, with each other, as to what ought to be done at all times, and against all persons whatsoever ; and will truly supply assistance, by themselves and their followers, to the whole extent of their power ; and that neither of them shall enter upon any difficult undertaking without consulting the other ; and that whichever of them may be aware of any imminent danger threatening the other, shall, as quickly as possible, use his best endeavours to defend him, or cause him to be defended therefrom. And all this is to be fully held, implemented, and adhered to ; to which they bind and oblige themselves by their faith and bodily oath, under the penalty of ten thousand pounds, to be applied in prosecuting the war against the infidels in the Holy Land. In testimony of which, the seal of the said earl is affixed to the copy which is in the possession of the said bishop, and the seal of the bishop is affixed to the copy in the possession of the earl. Done and dated in the year and the place aforesaid.”

“The above writing,” say Edward’s agents, “was sealed in fresh wax, with the seal of the said Bishop of St Andrews suspended by a membrane from the same, as he himself duly acknowledged ; in the centre of which seal is a figure like St Andrew the Apostle, extended upon a cross. On his right hand is the figure of a small fish, having something round in its mouth, and a star between the head of the fish and the belt round the apostle’s body. On the left hand is a bird, and a hand from heaven extended as if to bless the bird, with a half-moon between the bird and the hand. At the top of the said seal, within a small compartment, is a figure

like an *Agnus Dei*. At the bottom, under a canopy, is the small figure of a man clad with the episcopal insignia, having a pastoral staff in his hands, and in the attitude of prayer. The words on the margin of the seal, are 'S. Will. de Lāberton Epi. Soti. Andree;' which seal the said bishop admitted to be his, and to have been appended to the deed with his knowledge, and the contents of the same to be with his concurrence. Done at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the apartment of the said bishop, in the presence of, &c."¹

I have a cast of the above-mentioned seal in my possession, corresponding exactly with the description here given.

No. XXIV.

POPE JOHN XXII. GRANTS PERMISSION TO KING ROBERT BRUCE,
THAT HE AND HIS SUCCESSORS MAY BE CROWNED AND ANOINTED
BY THE BISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1328.

"John, episcopus, servus servorum, &c., to our most beloved son in Christ, Robert the illustrious king of Scotland, salutem, &c. By the Eternal King of Heaven, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, the power of the temporal sword is given for the punishment of the wicked, and the reward of the good, that they may judge the people, and rule over their subjects in wisdom; and that they may love judgment, and meditate on the truth, and observe peace. For the doing of which the more perfectly, the said kings, (in virtue of their sacred unction from the ministers of God, according to ancient usage,) receive the gift of increased grace, both that they may be thereby strengthened in the exercise of their government, and that they may be guided by a stronger and purer spirit, as well in regard to themselves as to their subjects. The efficacy of this unction is great: for when Saul was anointed, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him; and upon David also, when anointed, the Spirit of the Lord came, for the strengthening of that which ought to be found in all kings, viz., the fulness of virtue, and the complete authority of the temporal dominion. On the head of the prince is placed the honourable and circular diadem, that from him who has thus been decorated, the mode of living righteously,

¹ Documents and Records in the Royal Exchequer, edited by Sir F. Palgrave, p. 323.

and the rule of modesty, may be communicated to his subjects, even as from the head to its members. You, as a most devoted son of the church, considering the dew of spiritual grace, which by the said unction is poured out; and being moved by fervent desire that the Roman church, your mother and the mother of all the faithful, may exhibit the strength of her authority, and may employ the safeguard of the apostolic confirmation, in order that the said unction and crowning may be exhibited to you and the Catholic kings who may succeed you in the throne of Scotland, by the sacred hand of the pope; and we, learning by the tenor of your petition, that both you and your royal predecessors, have been accustomed to receive the insignia of authority from the Bishops of St Andrews from time immemorial: and you, by your ambassadors, whom you expressly sent on this account to the apostolic see, having humbly entreated that we would vouchsafe, by our authority, to grant that you and your successors, the Kings of Scotland, might receive unction, and coronation, and other royal insignia, from the Bishops of St Andrews for the time being, if able and willing, or else from some other prelate of Scotland—We therefore, taking into account the sincerity of your devotion, and considering that the more you study to be obedient to the Roman see, the more you will find it to be propitious to your prayers, gladly consent, and by these presents allow, that you and your successors in the said kingdom, who persevere in obedience to the holy Roman church, may receive the royal diadem and unction from the Bishops of St Andrews, or, if they be incapacitated, from the Bishops of Glasgow, who are, or shall be for the time, in the communion of the church; they having with them a due number of other bishops, for the sake of the kingly honour and the sacred unction—the rights of the holy Roman church being always duly maintained. We will, also, that the said bishops who exercise the foresaid functions, shall receive from the said Kings of Scotland, at the time of their being crowned and anointed in our name, and in the name of the holy Roman church, their corporal oath, that they will *bona fide* study to exterminate from their kingdom, and all other places subject to their authority, all such heretics as are denounced by the church; and that they will not presume to injure or diminish the rights of the church, but rather preserve them untouched. Therefore let no one, &c. Given at Avignon, the Ides of January, in this the thirteenth year of our pontificate.”¹

¹ From the original, in the Advocates' Library.

No. XXV.

SAFE-CONDUCT FROM EDWARD III. TO WILLIAM DE LANDEL
BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, AND CERTAIN SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN, TO
VISIT DAVID II., WHEN A PRISONER IN ENGLAND, WITH A VIEW
TO HIS RELEASE, A.D. 1352.

“The king, to all and single, the sheriffs, mayors, bailies, and other
his faithful servants, to whom, &c., salutem. Know that, seeing—

The venerable father William bishop of St Andrews,
Patrick earl of March,
William earl of Sutherland,
Thomas earl of Angus, and
William lord Douglas;

or four, three, two, or one of them, with two hundred horsemen of
whatever rank, (cum ducentis equitibus cujuscunque status vel
conditionis fuerint,) are desirous to come with our leave, to visit
David de Bruce, who is our prisoner, and who, on certain condi-
tions, is about to proceed to the place where the exchange is to be
made between him and his hostages, with a view to his return to
his own country: We, willing to afford security to the said bishop
and lords, and their attendants, take them under our special pro-
tection, whether in coming, remaining, or returning, with their
horses and other effects: and therefore we command you neither
to inflict any injury on the said bishop and lords, and their atten-
dants, nor allow any to be inflicted on them by others while in Eng-
land, so long as they behave themselves as they ought to do: and
if any evil befall them, or any of them, you will cause the same
to be duly remedied. To extend till the fifteenth day after the feast
of the Purification. In testimony of which, &c. We will, also,
and permit, that if the said bishop or lords, or their attendants, fall
sick, &c. At the Tower of London, 4th day of September.”¹

¹ Rotuli Scotie, vol. i. p. 743.

No. XXVI.

SAFE-CONDUCT FROM EDWARD III. TO CERTAIN SCOTTISH SCHOLARS
TO STUDY AT OXFORD, OR CAMBRIDGE, FOR THREE YEARS, A.D.
1357.

"The king, to all and single, &c., salutem. Know that, at the request of the venerable fathers the Bishops of St Andrews and Brechin in Scotland, we grant permission to all scholars in that country, who may wish to come and pursue their scholastic exercises at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for the space of three years. And therefore we command that you inflict no injury, or allow any to be inflicted on the said scholars coming into our kingdom, remaining at our universities, or returning home again; so long as they behave as they ought to do. In testimony of which, &c. At Westminster, 28th October."¹

No. XXVII.

SAFE-CONDUCT FROM EDWARD III., GIVEN TO CERTAIN MERCHANTS AND BURGESSES OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1362.

A safe-conduct runs in the usual style in favour of certain Scottish merchants for one year. After which we find the following addition:—

"The under-written have similar royal letters granted to them, for the same period, viz.—

"John de Dudyngston, burgess and merchant of the city of St Andrews, in Scotland, for himself and four horsemen, (et quatuor sociis equitibus.)

"John Gudesman, do. do.

"William de Eglesham, do. do.

"At Westminster, 2d June."²

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 815.

² Ibid., vol. i. p. 862.

No. XXVIII.

SAFE-CONDUCT FROM EDWARD III. TO WILLIAM DE LANDEL BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, AND OTHERS, TO GO FROM LONDON TO SCOTLAND, WITH TWENTY BOWS, TWENTY QUIVERS, AND ONE KETILHAT, [SCULL-CAP ?] A.D. 1365.

“The king, to his sheriffs, mayors, bailies, keepers of his maritime ports, and other his faithful servants, &c., salutem. Know that, by our special favour, we have granted to

The venerable father the Bishop of St Andrews,

Sir Robert de Erakyne,

and other Scottish messengers now in London; that they, with all their appendages, viz., twenty bows, and twenty quivers of arrows, and the said Robert with one ketilhat, may pass out of our kingdom into Scotland. And therefore we command that you allow the said messengers with twenty bows, &c., to pass into Scotland, according to this our permission. In testimony of which, &c. At Westminster, 20th May.”¹

No. XXIX.

COPY OF A SAFE-CONDUCT GRANTED BY HENRY VI. KING OF ENGLAND, TO JAMES KENNEDY BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1446.

“The king, by these letters-patent, has taken into his safe-conduct and special protection, for two years to come, and has freed from all molestation and hinderance, while proceeding towards the city of Rome, and any other holy places, James bishop of St Andrews, in Scotland, and thirty persons in his company, besides Master John Leggatt, Master John Mudie, and John Fleming, of Scotland, while in the kingdom of England, by land or by water, on foot or on horseback, with all their lawful goods and furniture whatsoever, coming, remaining there, and dwelling, by day and by night, as well in the said kingdom, as in all other places and territories whatever under our government.—Dated Westminster, 28th May.”²

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 892.

² Ibid., vol. ii. p. 328.

No. XXX.

LETTER OF REMISSION BY PATRICK GRAHAM ARCHBISHOP OF
ST ANDREWS, TO JOHN MARTINE, CITIZEN THEREIN, ABOUT A.D.
1474.

"We, Patrick, by the mercy of God archbishop of St Andrews, and lord of regality thereof, for divers and sundry reasonable considerations moving us thereto, have remitted, discharged, and freely forgiven our lovite John Martine, citizen of our city of St Andrews, and by the tenor hereof remit, discharge, and freely forgive him, in our sovereign lord's name and authority, and ours, for the transporting forth of the realm, and carrying away by himself, or others in his name, at sundry times, tallow, molten taugh, or other forbidden goods, geer, or merchandise, contrary to the tenor of the acts of parliament, laws, and constitutions of this realm; and also, for all other crimes or faults done, committed, assisted to, or fortified by him, in any time bygone, albeit the same be greater than the said special crime or fault above expressed; anent the quhilk we dispense with him, and grant him full, free, and plain remission for the same; and that he shall never be attacht, called, adjourned, summoned, nor accused therefor, nor yet troubled and molested for the same in his person, goods, nor geer, any manner of way, but to be as free thereof as if the samen had never been committed by him; and thir letters of remit to be extended in maist ample form so oft as need beis."¹

"N.B. This remit is signed by the archbishop, and hath part of his seal yet to be seen upon it."—*Martine*.

No. XXXI.

SAFE-CONDUCT FROM HENRY VII. TO WILLIAM [SHEVEZ] ARCH-
BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1491.

"The king to all, &c., salutem. Know, that we have taken into our safe-conduct and special protection, William archbishop of St

¹ Martine's Reliquiæ, p. 95.

Andrews, of the kingdom of Scotland, with forty persons, or under, of his company, (cum quadraginta personis, vel infra, in comitiva sua,) with all their horses, carts, carriages, waggons, bags (bogeis,) wallets (manticis,) packages (fardellis,) papers, clothes, vestments, jewels, caskets, gold and silver, whether coined or uncoined; as also, their other necessary or useful goods and effects in our kingdom of England, and all other places subject to us, by land, or sea, or fresh water, on foot or on horseback, as often as we shall see fit during the continuance of this our safe-conduct, coming, remaining, sojourning, transacting affairs, and returning homewards, and have secured them from all molestation and hinderance from any our servants or officials whatsoever, any statute or ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding. And therefore, we command, &c. Provided always that the said archbishop and his attendants conduct themselves, &c. In testimony of which, &c. To remain for one year.

“At Canterbury, 17th day of April.”¹

No. XXXII.

DEDICATION OF AN ASTRONOMICAL WORK TO ARCHBISHOP SHEVEZ,
BY JASPER LAET DE BORCHLOEN,² A.D. 1491.

“To the most reverend father and lord in Christ, William archbishop of St Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and legate of the apostolic see, Jasper Laet de Borchloen, the humble pupil of all astronomers, (astrologorum,) commends himself.

“The singular kindness which you have recently shown me, though unworthy, emboldens me, most reverend archbishop, to dedicate to you the sentiments of the astronomers concerning the eclipse of the sun on the 8th of May in this current year 1491. This, I trust, will prove agreeable to you, since I know you are endowed, in an uncommon degree, with virtue and learning; that you possess a complete knowledge both of human and divine things; and are known by all, to be a proficient in every kind of literature. Since,

¹ Rotuli Scotie.

² This is a very small book of no more than seven leaves, and is supposed to be the only copy in existence. It belongs to the Library of the Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh.

then, no one is ignorant of this, why should I dwell upon it? Such knowledge is honourable to you; and it is moreover necessary, seeing you are primate of all Scotland. In a word, all philosophy is familiar to you. The four sciences¹ have brought you glory and honour. Who has not admired your profound learning? In the city of St Andrews, where there is an illustrious university, and an influx of many learned men, you have instituted, at great expense, and with unwonted diligence, a valuable library, which is filled with books of every kind. But especially have you brought from the darkness of obscurity into the light of day the mathematical sciences, which, through the negligence of the Scotch, had become nearly forgotten; and you have collected numerous volumes for the restoration of the sidereal science. On this account, most noble prelate, and not because I would be guilty of flattery, I present to you this little work, the fruit of my poor genius, and dedicate it to your infallible wisdom, earnestly entreating that, with your accustomed kindness, you would deign to receive it, however unworthy of your acceptance."

XXXIII.

FOUNDATION-CHARTERS OF TWO ALTARAGES IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH, ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1494 AND 1501.

1. *Foundation of the Chapel and Altar of St John Baptist in the metropolitan Church of St Andrews, by Mr Alexander Inglis, Archdeacon of St Andrews, A.D. 1494.*

"To all who shall see or hear of this charter, Alexander Inglis, principal archdeacon of St Andrews, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Seeing we believe that, by pious prayers, and continual performance of masses, since the Son is offered to the Father for our sins, offences are remitted, the pains of purgatory abolished, and the souls of the deceased frequently delivered therefrom, and translated into the joys of paradise; therefore, I, the said Alexander Inglis, principal archdeacon of St Andrews, moved by devotion, in honour of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the most glorious Virgin Mary, and all the Saints, have, by the blessing of God, dedicated to the altar of St John Baptist in the

¹ "Disciplinæ quadriviales," viz., arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The "disciplinæ triviales" were the first three.

nave of the metropolitan church of St Andrews, (which is commonly called the archdeacon's aisle,) on the north side of the said church, towards the west, the whole of that my tenement, with its pertinents, which I bought from John Thomson, citizen of St Andrews, lying on the north side of the South Street of the city, between the tenement of William Forgund, to the east, and the tenement of John Wemys, burger of Crail, to the west; and also my large tenement, which I am now building, at the west end of the archdeacon's manse. Know, therefore, that I have granted, and now grant, with the sanction of my reverend Lord William [Shevez] archbishop of St Andrews, and *legatus natus*, the above tenements, with their pertinents, by mortmain, to God, the Virgin Mary, &c.; and also to a chaplain, who shall perpetually celebrate masses for the safety of my soul, and the souls of my predecessors and successors, kings, popes, parents, and benefactors, and all the faithful departed, from whom I may have received favours and not duly requited them. The tenements to be held in pure and perpetual charity, &c.; so that neither I, nor my heirs, nor assignees, shall be able to demand back the same, but are hereby for ever excluded; reserving, however, to myself, for the whole period of my life, the free use of said tenements according to my pleasure. I desire, that should it happen that any chaplain of said altar (which God forbid!) aliquam concubinam vel focariam publicam retinere, seu tali publicè adharere, and after being duly admonished, shall not dismiss her, his chaplaincy shall be declared vacant." The deed then goes on to direct that the altarage shall be considered vacant if the chaplain accept any other benefice, or absent himself more than fifteen days from his duty, without permission. The patronage of the altar is vested in the archdeacons of St Andrews, or failing them, from any cause, in the rector of the University. Forty solidi are to be reserved yearly for the repair of the tenements. The chaplain is to be Master of Arts, or regent in some faculty in the University. His salary to be thirty denarii from the first tenement, and twelve from the second, payable half-yearly. Lastly, the ornaments, chalices, vestments, &c., belonging to the altar, are to be carefully preserved, and never removed therefrom. Witnesses—the illustrious *domini* and *magistri*, Robert Ketht rector of the University; John Listone, provost of St Salvador's college; Hugh Spens, professor of Sacred Theology; David Meldrum, principal official of St Andrews; Patrick Symson, canon of the said collegiate church; John Young, canon of Dunkeld; and Symone Campion, notary, cum diversis aliis testibus.

Archbishop Shevez' confirmation of the above.—This document

merely confirms the foundation and endowment of the altarage, with consent of the chapter of the cathedral, and sanctions the regulations laid down in the foregoing charter.

2. *Foundation of the Chapel and Altar of St John the Evangelist in the metropolitan Church of St Andrews, by Robert de Fontibus, Archdeacon of St Andrews, A.D. 1501.*

This charter begins exactly in the same way as the foregoing one. "Therefore, with the help of God, I have endowed, out of the tenement hereinafter mentioned, an altar to St John the Evangelist, within the metropolitan church of St Andrews, and in the aisle of the said St John. Be it known to all concerned, that I have granted, and by this document do, by mortmain, grant, with the sanction of my most reverend lord the present Archbishop of St Andrews, to God, the glorious Virgin Mary, &c., and to the chaplain of the said altar, Mr Thomas Ramsay regent in Arts in the Pedagogium, and to the regents therein his successors, for the salvation of the soul of our present King James, and the said reverend father the archbishop, as well as of William Shevez, late archbishop; and of my own soul, and of Elizabeth countess of Ross, and of my father and mother, brothers and sisters, ancestors, successors, and benefactors, and all others, living or dead, from whom I have received any favours, and have not duly requited them—all that tenement, with its pertinents, belonging to me, lying on the south side of the South Street of St Andrews, between the land of the late Mr Alexander Pennycuik on the east, and the land of the late Mr Alexander Inglis, archdeacon of St Andrews, on the west; the said tenement to be held with its annual revenue," &c. The chaplain is to receive twenty libræ from the tenement, for his own use, and ten marks for the support of any *clericus* who may study within the Pedagogium for four years, with a view to a degree; and failing him, any other fit person may receive the same for a like period. The remaining rent of the tenement to be expended by the chaplain (with advice of the Archdeacon of St Andrews and the prior of the metropolitan church) in repairing the tenement and adorning the altar, &c. The charter then goes on to make the same provisions with that of Alexander Inglis, as to concubinage, acceptance of any other benefice by the chaplain, and absence from his duty more than fifteen days. The patronage of the altar is vested in the archdeacon; and failing him, in the Prior and canons of St Andrews. The chaplain, before his admission, is to give security that he will not alienate, or allow to be alienated, anything belonging to the altar. After the founder's decease, the patrons shall implement the aforesaid provisions of the

charter, as they shall answer for it at the last day before the Supreme Judge. "In testimony whereof, my seal, and that of my bailiff John Rudyfurde, who has granted seisin to Mr Thomas Ramsay, are appended to this charter, at St Andrews the 27th May, 1501, before these witnesses:—John prior of St Andrews; Gavin Dunbar dean of Moray; Hugo Spens canon of the collegiate church of St Salvator; Henry Prestone; John Sawquhar; John Cuyk vicar of Deray; Robert Richartstone; and David Retray, cum diversis aliis."

Archbishop James Stewart's confirmation of the above.—"We, James, by divine mercy Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of all Scotland, *legatus natus* of the apostolic see, Duke of Ross, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ardmannach, Lord of Brechin Govan, with consent of the prior and chapter of our metropolitan church of St Andrews, approve and confirm for ourselves, and our successors, the grant of the above-mentioned tenement and its proprietary mortmain, and all and single, &c. And we mortify the same to Mr Thomas Ramsay, who has been nominated thereto by the archdeacon, agreeably to the form and tenor of the foundation-charter. In testimony of which, our seal and that of the chapter of our metropolitan church are appended this 3d day of June, 1501."

No. XXXIV.

FOUNDATION-CHARTERS OF TWO ALTARAGES IN THE PARISH
CHURCH, ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1493 AND 1501.

1. *Instrument of the grant of various Articles to the Chaplains of the Altar of St Anthony, in the Parish Church of St Andrews, by Magister David Monypenny, A.D. 1493.*

"In nomine Dei, amen. Be it known to all by this public instrument, that in the year of the nativity 1493, the 9th May, the 11th Indiction, the first year of the pontificate of Pope Alexander VI., in the presence of my notary-public and the subscribing witnesses, the venerable Mr David Monypenny canon of Moray, not moved by fear or force, but of his own free will, granted to Mr Robert Preston, (presbyter and chaplain of the altar of St Anthony, within the parish church of the city of St Andrews, founded by the said Mr D. Monypenny,) and to his successors the chaplains of the said

altar canonically appointed, all the goods mentioned in the following inventory :—“Thir ar the guydis that I, David Monepeanne, channon of Murray, fundator of Sanctanthonis alter within the parys kirk of Sanctiandria, hes giffyne, and, in my *lege posta*,¹ giffis and leiffis, withouttine ouy contradictione or revocatione, to remane perpetually to the use of the Innis mortifeit till our Ladye and Sanctanthone. In the first, the chalmyr that I ly in ; ane dowbill contour ;² an standand bed, with ruyf and hedis : *Item*, in the hall, ane folding burd ; ane lang sadill ;³ ane porch ; and ane fut-burd : *Item*, in the ower chalmer, ane standand bed, with ruyf and hedis, with curthynnes of linen cloth ; ane dowbill contour ; ane lang-sadill ; ane pres of aik ; ane cop-burd ; twa cheris of akyne buyrdis : *Item*, in the litill hall, an dowbill contour ; ane setburd, with ane lang saddyll ; ane copburd ; and ane almyr affixit in the wall betwix the hall and the kechin. In the ower chalmer, ane standand bed, with ruife and hedis ; and, in the fore chalmer, ane standand bed, with ane pres : *Item*, in the kechin of the greit hall, ane brandraht of irne ; in the greit hall, ane hingand chandelar of bras ; in the greit chalmer, ane feddir bed, ane boustier, and an coweryne ; and the rede parlyne [?] in the litill hall ; the quhilk guidis, as foresaidis, I exut me and dischargis of me and myne airis, executoris, and assignais, and to be rewlit by the awys⁴ and ordinance of the Den of the faculte of art, and his deputis quhamsoever thai be for the thyme ;’ for the use and service of the chaplain of the said altar ; and, in token of this grant, the said Mr David has given the said Mr Robert a piece of wood which he was carrying in his hand. Moreover, that the grant of the articles aforesaid, and the foundation of the chaplaincy may be made good, the said Mr David makes and constitutes his relations, Patrick Monypenny and John Gurley, his true and undoubted factors and procurators ; conceding to them, or either of them, his full power over that tenement, with its contents, lying within the city of St Andrews, on the south side, between the land of the late Henry Urquhart to the west, and the land of the late John Collisone, and the Prior’s Wynd to the east.” The charter then proceeds to convey the property, in the usual terms. “These things were done in his [D. Monypenny’s] dwelling of Erlis Hall, at the first hour after noon, in the year, month, day, Indiction, and pontificate above-mentioned, in the presence of Mr John Young canon of Dunkeld ; Dominus John Lugate chaplain, John Dempster, John Downe, and Lawrence Ponry, witnesses.”

¹ My sound judgment.

² Counter, or table.

³ A long seat, sofa, or settle ; perhaps from *sedile*.

⁴ Advice.

The deed is attested by John Bonar presbyter of the diocese of St Andrews, and notary-public.

2. *Foundation-charter of Andrew¹ late Bishop of Moray, in favour of the altar of St Martin, in the parish church of St Andrews, A.D. 1501.*

"Omnibus hanc cartam, &c. We, Andrew, by the grace of God and the apostolic see, bishop of Moray, salutem, &c." The charter begins in the same way with those of Alexander Inglis and Robert de Fontibus. "Know that I have granted in mortmain, to God and the glorious Virgin Mary, and all the saints, as well as to the altar of St Martin, within the parish church of St Andrews, and to the chaplain who may be duly qualified, as master of arts and regent in the pedagogium of the said city, and to his successors there, being regents, for the safety of the souls of the late Kings of Scots of good memory, namely, James I., James II., James III., and of the present illustrious king, James IV.; as also for the safety of the souls of the most serene queens of Scots, namely, Joan, wife of the said James I.; Mary, wife of the said James II.; and Margaret, wife of the said James III., mother of our present king; and for the safety, also, of the souls of James Stewart, *miles*, our father of good memory; and of James our brother-german, late earl of Buchquhanian, [Buchan;] and of John our brother, now earl of Adolia, [Atholl;] as also for the souls of James Lindsay late dean of Glasgow; and Mr John Mungunore late rector of Eklissem; and for the souls of all, whether living or deceased, from whom I have ever received any benefit, and have not duly requited them; all and whole that our tenement, with its pertinents, lying within the city of St Andrews, between the lands of William Waugh to the east, and the lands of the late William Boner to the west, extending to the common *viam regiam* on the south, and the common *viam fori* on the north, to be held in pure and perpetual charity," &c. Then follows the same regulations as in the foregoing charters, respecting concubinage; acceptance of any other benefice by the chaplain; and absence from his duty more than fifteen days. The patronage of the altar is vested, after the decease of the founder, in his relation John Spens, sub-centor of our cathedral church of Moray; and, after him, in David Spens his brother; and, after him, in the rector and dean of the University of St Andrews. "In testimony whereof, our round seal is appended to these presents, and,

¹ He was son of Sir James Stewart and Queen Joan, widow of James I. He died soon after the above charter was executed.

for stronger evidence, we have also caused to be appended the seal of Mr David Spens, our bailiff, and Sir William of Torpcheichin, custodier of the alms of St John of Jerusalem; into the hands of which bailiff we have resigned the said tenement, who has, in consequence, inducted and invested Mr Robert Ralstone into the same. Given at our castle of Spiny, this 3d September 1501, in presence of Mr John Spens, our sub-centor aforesaid; James Brown, John Gareath, chaplains, our vicars of Duffous and Crondale; Alexander Bonkle, Alexander Stobe, cum diversis aliis.

No. XXXV.

TWO LETTERS FROM ARCHBISHOP ALEXANDER STEWART, TO HIS FATHER, JAMES IV., RESPECTING THE GRANT OF CHURCH BENEFICES TO SOME OF HIS HOUSEHOLD.—The year in which the letters were written is not given; but it was probably in 1508.

“I could not have supposed that I could write five letters to you from this, without receiving any answer, were it not for the negligence with which letters are transmitted through Flanders: on which account I am at a loss to know what to do—whether not to write at all, or not to send what I write. I learnt that, through my intercession, my tutor (*nostrum monitorem*) had obtained the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, at which I rejoice, though surprised at the delay in his collation; and the more so, as his being with me was never considered an objection in other like cases. I therefore entreat you not to suffer him to be unjustly deprived of what used to be granted to all. But since I wrote to you lately of my state, and my studies, I will now use the fewer words. I know to whom I write; but have omitted your title on account of the war which threatens to break out. Farewell. At Patavia (Padua,) 7 kal. April.”

“As I have written so often to you lately, without receiving any answer, and as I could not witness my [archiepiscopal] jurisdiction so discourteously treated, I have thought it best to send to you my secretary with my memorial; from whom your majesty may know all you want, and in whom I pray you to put as much confidence as you would in me. I have learnt that the Bishop of Aberdeen [Elphinston] has commenced a contest about the archdeaconry which you bestowed upon my tutor. Now, since in no other benefice granted by your nomination could I have supposed this possible

to be done, and since he cannot carry on his suit and remain with me, I beseech you to free him from the trouble and expense of a litigation. This indeed you would do of your own accord, if you knew how much he has done for me, both here and at home. If, however, any benefice in my archiepiscopate, better than his own, become vacant, I beg you will confer it upon him; and some of his present benefices you may, in that case, grant to others: for I could wish one so useful and so faithful as he is, to be under my own jurisdiction. Finally, I do not think it right that other peoples' retainers should be provided with my lesser benefices, while my own people have hardly enough to live upon. I therefore pray your majesty that the collation of the lesser benefices of St Andrews may be committed to the prior or archdeacon, who may bestow them on my own friends; and that if any one of higher value become vacant, it may be bestowed upon my secretary, who has endured much in my service, and whom I entreat you will send back speedily with an answer to this letter. Farewell. At Patavia (Padua,) 22d October."¹

No. XXXVI.

ARCHBISHOP JAMES BEATON SOLICITS THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CARDINAL OF ST EUSEBIUS, THE PROTECTOR OF THE SCOTS AT ROME, AGAINST THE PRETENSIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW AND THE BISHOP OF MORAY.—Probably in A.D. 1523.

"To the reverend father in Christ, de Pater cardinal of St Eusebius, James archbishop of St Andrews. Most reverend father, our most serene king has written to his holiness, that the authority of the primacy and legation of St Andrews be not in any way injured in the province of Glasgow, by the pretensions of that see; and this affair he especially intrusts to your eminence. But seeing the present bishop of Moray daily stirs himself up against us, and, bent on mischief, pretends total exemption from us his ordinary of primacy and legation, we entreat your eminence to defend us and our see from the insults of our enemies, so that, thwarting their rash attempts, you may preserve the superiority of this see, pure, and entire; and obtain against the rebellious, (especially our contuma-

¹ *Epistolæ Regum Scot.*, vol. i. pp. 175, 177. The person alluded to in these letters as having obtained the archdeaconry of Aberdeen was his tutor or secretary, Sir Thomas Halkerton, provost of the collegiate church of Crichton. See vol. i. p. 251.

cious suffragans the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Moray,) apostolical briefs enjoining obedience on pain of ecclesiastical censures. We farther trust your eminence will cause, that in whatever way our see has been formerly defrauded, on the plea of exemption, the same may be corrected : and we shall owe your eminence as great thanks for this favour, as we owe you for the primacy itself ; which our familiar, the bearer of this, will more fully explain. At Edinburgh," &c.¹

No. XXXVII.

ARCHBISHOP JAMES BEATON REQUESTS THE CARDINAL OF ST EUSEBIUS TO GET HIS NEPHEW, DAVID BEATON, MADE ABBOT OF ARBROATH, AND THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GLASGOW MADE SUBJECT TO THAT OF ST ANDREWS, A.D. 1523.

" To the most reverend father and Lord de Pater cardinal of St Eusebius, James archbishop of St Andrews and chancellor of Scotland. Most reverend father, we have not forgotten how many favours we have received from the holy see through your mediation ; and though we cannot adequately respond to these, yet it becomes us to be grateful to the utmost of our ability, and to show our gratitude as opportunities may offer. But, reverend father, seeing that important business daily grows upon our hands, which requires the aid of some one who shall be faithful, both to us and to your eminence, we have it in mind to cede, in favour of our dearest nephew David Beaton, chancellor of the church of Glasgow, the monastery of St Thomas the martyr at Arbroath, which we received in *commendam* with our archbishopric ; on which account we have thought fit to send him in person to your eminence. We therefore entreat that the said monastery may be conferred on our said nephew, and that you may obtain for him a dispensation from assuming the monastic habit for two years ; that, moreover, half the revenues of the monastery may be secured to us during our life, with consent of the said David, and that you will enable him to procure, at the same time, our bulls of resignation of the office *per decessum*, and of his accession to the same. Farther, as the case of the church of Glasgow is to be soon considered, we again earnestly beg of you, our protector, to defend the primitival see of St Andrews from every

¹ Epistolæ Regum Scot.

snare of the adversary, and not suffer its ordinary to be denuded of his rights ; but, on the contrary, to labour that his holiness may be persuaded to preserve our authority uninfringed within the province of Glasgow. As to the other affairs of this kingdom, its serene governor, the illustrious Duke of Albany, herewith sends, as ambassador, his faithful counsellor, our said nephew, to the most holy senate, who will always afford your eminence information concerning our affairs, according to the mind of the governor. Him I pray you to consult and rely upon, and on no one else. We have ordered him both to serve you, and to deserve well of you. May you be fortunate and happy. At Edinburgh, 24th December, 1523.”¹

No. XXXVIII.

JAMES V. REQUESTS POPE ADRIAN VI. TO ENABLE HIM TO RECOVER PART OF THE REVENUE OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST ANDREWS, WHICH, SOME YEARS BEFORE, HAD IMPROPERLY BEEN ALIENATED IN FAVOUR OF PRIOR HEPBURN, A.D. 1524.

“ Most holy father, felicitatem. We formerly requested of your holiness, that, in conferring the prelacies of this kingdom, nothing might be derogated from the see of St Andrews, but that, in all respects, its superiority might be maintained. But now, a serious evil, which sprung up under the late archbishop, and indeed was brought in by his means, forces us to write, before it is too late to have the evil remedied. Truly, most reverend father, on our accession to our throne, amidst the strifes of ambitious prelates, John [Hepburn] prior of the canons of the metropolitan church of St Andrew, who is the patron of our kingdom, openly and most unbecomingly opposed the Archbishop [Forman] on his return from Rome, and attempted to hinder his taking possession of the see, until a pension was assigned to him out of the archiepiscopal revenues, and a pardon obtained for himself and others who acted with him, some of whom were men of bad character. To these terms the archbishop yielded ; for he had many enemies in the country, and the prior’s ambition was unbounded. Accordingly the pardon was granted, as well as no small part of the archiepiscopal revenues ; namely, the church of Kirkliston, and the adjacent lands, which the archbishop could with difficulty spare, because lying near

¹ *Epistolæ Regum Scot.*, vol. i. p. 340. In p. 339, there is a letter from James V. to Pope Adrian VI. to the same effect.

Edinburgh, where the king and his council and many noblemen are wont to reside, and whom he is obliged to entertain. Nevertheless, the archbishop always believed that this grant might, in time, be rescinded, and his see restored to its former independence; for the prior did not pretend any claim of right either to his pension or his pardon; and moreover, the priory being as amply endowed as the archbishopric, it was the more unjust to rob the latter, which was subject to heavier expenses than the former. But while the primate was considering how he might recover the ancient property of his see, and was representing the matter to your illustrious predecessor, Leo X., and had almost prevailed over the prior, he was suddenly cut off by the hand of death. But now, holy father, we think ourselves obliged to labour, that your holiness may be induced to restore things to their former footing, and to retract both the pension and the pardon improperly granted at the beginning of our reign, when as yet we were inexperienced in the art of governing our kingdom. We therefore entreat that you will declare to be null and void, whatever was unjustly taken, through the importunity of the prior, from St Andrew, the patron of our kingdom; and that you will order the primacy to be put in its former state, partly for the relief of our conscience, which negligently allowed the evil to be committed, and partly for the sake of the new archbishop, who, as chancellor of the kingdom, is subjected to heavy expenses, and is personally deserving of greater favours than this. At Edinburgh, 5th May, 1524.”¹

No. XXXIX.

THE COPY OF A LETTER CONGRATULATORY, SENT FROM THE DOCTORS OF LOUVAINE, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, AND DOCTORS OF SCOTLAND, COMMENDING THEM FOR THE EXECUTION OF PATRICK HAMILTON, A.D. 1528.

“ Your excellent virtue (most honourable bishop) hath so deserved, that albeit we be far distant, both by sea and land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, whereby that true faith, which not long ago was tainted with heresy, not only remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For our dear friend, Master Alexander Galloway

¹ *Epistolæ Regum Scot.*, vol. i. p. 346.

canon of Aberdeen, hath showed us the presumption of the wicked heretic Patrick Hamilton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut him off when there was no hope of amendment. The which thing, as it is thought commendable by us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many states, as of the clergy, nobility, and vulgar people, not rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and alway do approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inserted are erroneous; so that, whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be esteemed an enemy to the faith, and an adversary to the Holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appear to be without error, to them that will consider only the bare words, (as, for example, "good works make not a good man, but a good man worketh good works,") yet there is no doubt but they contain a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signify; to wit, that works done after faith and justification make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you; for there shall be [many] among externe nations which shall imitate the same.

"Certainly ye have given us great courage; so that now we acknowledge your university, which was founded according to the example of our university of Louvaine, to be equal to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds toward you! In the meantime, let us labour with one consent, that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheep-fold of Christ while we have time. Let us study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have inquisitors, and espies of books containing that doctrine, especially that are brought in from far countries, whether by apostative monks, or by merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these days. It is said, that since Scotland first embraced the Christian faith, it was never defiled with any heresy. Persevere, therefore; being moved thereunto by the example of England your next neighbour, which, in this most troublesome time, is not changed, partly by the working of the bishops, among the which Roffensis [Fisher bishop of Rochester] has showed himself an evangelical phoenix, and partly by the king declaring himself to be another Matthias of the new law, pretermittting nothing that may defend the law of his realm. The which, if your most renowned King of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase eternal glory. Farther, as touching the condign commendation due for your part, most reverend bishop, in this behalf, it shall

not be the least of your praise that these heresies have been extinct sometime in Scotland, you being primate of Scotland, and principal author thereof; albeit that they also which have assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise, as the renowned bishop of Glasgow, of whose erudition we have been given to understand, and also the reverend bishop of Aberdeen, a stout defender of the faith, together with the rest of the prelates, abbots, priors, and professors of Holy Scripture.

"Let your reverend fatherhood take this little testificate of our duty toward you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

"From Louvaine, anno 1528, April 21st. By the masters and professors of theology in the University of Louvaine.—Yours to command."¹

XL.

CARDINAL BEATON REQUESTS POPE PAUL III. TO APPOINT A SUFFRAGAN BISHOP TO ASSIST HIM IN DISCHARGING THE DUTIES OF HIS DIOCESE, A.D. 1540.

"Most holy father, &c. The greater is the dignity with which your holiness has invested me, the greater should be my care to deserve it, and to govern the affairs of the church with wisdom. But as I am unable to feed and watch the flock committed to me in the manner I could wish, from the weight of secular business with which I am oppressed, which daily increases, and which the king desires, nay, forces me to sustain, I have thought of proposing to your holiness some one who would in part relieve me, when engaged about the affairs of the State, and supply my place in the diocese of St Andrews, when I am obliged to be absent from it. I have, therefore, fixed upon one who is fit, above all others, for discharging the episcopal functions, namely, Master William Gibson, a man fully instructed in sacred theology, and in both canon and civil law, as well as venerable for the purity of his life, to be recommended to your holiness, on whom may be conferred the episcopal dignity, and who may be created my suffragan; reserving to him, at the same time, the deanery of Restalrig, the rectory of Inverarity, and the vicarage of Garvoek, which benefices he now possesses; and adding thereto £200 yearly of the money of this

¹ Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 228.

kingdom, to be paid to him during his life by me and my successors, whereby he may the more suitably sustain the episcopal dignity and functions. That your holiness may be pleased to appoint him my suffragan, I request, and even implore; and the more so, because I am occupied about the affairs of this church and kingdom, and not my own private advantage. I pray God that he may give me the disposition which he gave to the servant in the parable, that I may show myself worthy of His vocation, and of your choice, and, like him, render a true account of the five talents committed to my trust. May your holiness live long and happily. At Edinburgh, 4th May, 1540."¹

XLI.

POPE PAUL III. CONSTITUTES CARDINAL BEATON HIS LEGATE À LATERE FOR SCOTLAND, A.D. 1543.

"Paulus, episcopus, &c., to our dearly beloved son David, cardinal-presbyter of St Stephen de cælio monte, and archbishop of St Andrews, our legate of the apostolic see, at the court of our dearest daughter in Christ, Mary the illustrious queen of Scotland, throughout the said kingdom of Scotland, and in all the provinces, cities, lands, castles, and places subject to the said Queen Mary, salutem, &c. Though the fulness of power be committed to us, and we have, by divine mercy, the care of the whole of the Lord's flock, yet, being unable to exceed the limits of human possibility, and considering that we cannot alone discharge the duties of the apostleship, we sometimes call in others to our aid, and especially the cardinals of the holy Roman church; that with their help we may the more easily perform the duties which, by the divine favour, are entrusted to us." The bull then goes on at great length, after enumerating the cardinal's qualifications, to appoint him legate à latere for Scotland during the pope's pleasure; empowering him to perform various civil, as well as ecclesiastical functions, and, among others, to create notaries-public, counts palatine, knights, (*milites aureatos*), poets-laureate, doctors, licentiates, and bachelors in canon and civil law, and to endue them with all their accustomed privileges—to permit or refuse the holding of more benefices than one, according

¹ *Epistolæ Regum Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 66. In pages 63, 65, and 68, are letters from Cardinal Beaton to the Cardinal of Ghymnicia, at Rome; as also from James V. to this cardinal and to the pope,—all of the same import with the foregoing.

to circumstances, &c. &c.—The following are some of the most prominent topics introduced into this document: The age at which candidates were to be admitted to holy orders (sub-deacons at sixteen, deacons at eighteen, and presbyters at twenty-one)—marriages, interdictions, and excommunications—persons by whom, times when, and method in which, divine offices are to be celebrated—absolutions—pilgrimages—articles of diet—oaths—dispensations—first fruits—visitations of colleges, schools, monasteries, &c. The bull, which is very long, finishes thus:—"And because it would be difficult to introduce all the foregoing regulations into all your letters, or to transmit them to all places and persons concerned therein, we will, and decree, that a copy of the same, in whole or in part, as may be required, written and signed by your secretary or chancellor, and certified by your seal, be used instead of the original. Given at St Peter's, Rome, in the year 1543, the 3d cal. Feb., the tenth year of our pontificate."¹

No. XLII.

GEORGE WISHART'S CONCERN IN THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST CARDINAL BEATON'S LIFE.

It is matter of history that the Earl of Hertford and Sir R. Sadler were Henry VIII.'s ambassadors for carrying into effect his favourite scheme for uniting England and Scotland under one monarchy, by marrying his son Prince Edward to Queen Mary. Henry, by means of bribes and pensions, had gained over to this plan the most influential of the Scottish nobility; but its grand opponent was Cardinal Beaton, who was desirous to uphold both the Roman Catholic religion and the independence of his country. The King of England, therefore, sought every means, both fair and foul, to get rid of Beaton, looking upon him as the only obstacle to the accomplishment of his wishes; and in this (as we shall see presently) he was most faithfully seconded by Hertford and Sadler, and a band of Scottish reformers. With respect to Wishart, we know that he was a zealous preacher of the reformed doctrines, and the constant companion of the chief conspirators against the cardinal; particularly Crichton of Brunstone and Sir George Douglas, who were not only two of the most unprincipled men of the age, and

¹ Appendix to Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. 379.

ready to undertake any mischief for money, but the former of whom was actually employed by Sadler to watch the cardinal's movements. These are the principal *dramatis personæ* of the plot with whom we have any concern; and we now proceed to give a very condensed summary of the evidence against Wishart, as extracted from Mr Tytler's writings, and other sources.

Wishart was obliged to leave Scotland in 1538, and went to Bristol, where he was arrested on a charge of heresy, but saved his life by publicly recanting in the church of St Nicholas, in that city. He then seems to have gone abroad. In 1543 we find him at Cambridge, where his habits are said to have been of the ascetic kind, combining a curious mixture of piety and peculiarity. The same year he returned to Scotland with Sir James Learmont, Henry Balnevis, the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, *all* of whom had been *bought over* by Henry VIII. to promote his objects in Scotland. Three of them, at least, were either then, or very soon after, in the plot against Beaton's life; and it is not very likely they would scruple to let their friend Wishart into their secret, knowing his just grounds for disliking their common enemy.

We next hear of Wishart, (or at least *a* Wishart,) when employed by Brunstone, on a confidential mission to the Earl of Hertford, the purport of which we shall discover by the following letter (which is dated Newcastle, 17th of April 1544) from the said earl to the king his master:—"Please it your Highness to understand, that this day arrived here with me a *Scotchman called Wishart*, and brought over a letter from the larde of Brunstone, which I send your Highness herewith; and according to his request, have taken order for the repayre of the said Wishart to your Majestie by poste, both for the deliverance of such letters as he hath to your Majestie from the said Brunstone, and also for the declaration of his evidence, which, *as I can perceyve by him*, consisteth in two poynts: one is, the Larde of Graunge, late thresaurer of Scotland, the Mr of Rothes th' Erl of Rothes' eldest son, and John Chartres, wolde attempt eyther *t' apprehend or slee the cardinal* at some time when he shall goe through the Fyfland, as he doth sundrie times, to Sanct Andrewes, and in case they can so apprehend him, will delyver him unto your Majestie; which attemptate he sayeth they will enterprise, if they knew your Majestie's pleasure therein, and what supportacion and maintenance your Majestie wold minister unto them after the execution of the same, in case they should be pursued afterwards by any of their enemies. The other is, that in case your Majestie wold graunt unto them a convenyent entertainment for to keep 1000 or 1500 men in wáges for a month or two, they, joyning with the power of the Erl Marshall, the saide Mr

of Rothos, the Larde of Calder, and others of the Lord Gray's friends, will take upon them, at such tyme as your Majestie's armye shall be in Scotland, to destroy the abbey and toun of Arbroath, being the cardinall's; and all the other byshoppis and abbotis houses and countreys on that syde the water thereabouts; and to apprehend all those which they say be the principal impugnators of the amyte betwixt England and Scotland; for the which they should have a good opportunity, as they say, when the power of the said byshoppis and abbotis shall resort towards Edinburgh to resist your Majestie's army. And for the execution of these things, the said Wishart sayeth, that the said Erl Marshall, and others afore named, will capitulate with your Majestie in writing under their handes and seales, afore they shall desyr any supplie or ayde of money at your Majestie's handes. This is the effect of his credence, with sundry other advertisements of the gret contention and division that is at this present within the realm of Scotland, which, we doubt not, he will declare unto your Majestie at good length."

Here we see that Wishart, Brunstone, Grange, Lord Lealie, and Chartres of Kinfauns, are willing to undertake the murder of Beaton, on conditions which we shall find alluded to presently, and that Wishart was actually sent on to have a personal interview with the king on the subject of the proposal. The following is the answer to the Earl of Hertford's letter from the Lords of the Privy Council, dated from Greenwich, 26th April 1544:—"After our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship. These shall be to signify unto you that this *bearer, Wishart, which cam from Brunstone*, hath been with the King's Majestie, and, for his evidence, declared the same matters in substance whereof your Lordship hath written hither; and hath received for answer, *touching the feate against the cardinall*, that in case the lords and gentlemen which he named shall enterprise the same earnestlie, and do the best they can, to the uttermost of their powers, to bring the same to pass indede, and shall be forced to fly into this realm for refuge, his Highness will be content to accept them, and relief them as shall appertyn." The defenders of Wishart "the martyr," say that it must be some *other* Wishart who is spoken of in the above correspondence. Even if it were so, they would gain little by it; for it is clear that this said Wishart was as zealous a reformer, and perhaps as willing to suffer for his conduct, as the martyr himself. And supposing that "the martyr" were not the messenger to Henry VIII., there is still evidence enough that the former was accessory to the conspiracy against Beaton, which is all we are contending for. The evidence of his being a conspirator is quite independent of his mission to Henry. But, in point of fact, we do not hear of any other person of that name being

in any way whatever connected with the conspirators against Beaton; and all the circumstances contribute to identify "the martyr" with the "messenger." The following fact strengthens this belief:—Wishart the messenger, we have seen, had arrived in Scotland with the Earl of Hertford's letter to Brunstone in April. Now, we know that at this time, Hertford had got his arrangements, for invading Scotland with an English army, in such a state of forwardness, that he actually landed at Leith in the following month. One part of the campaign, which is known to have been previously determined upon, was to march to the town of Haddington, and burn it, which was done accordingly. *About this very time* we find Wishart "the martyr" preaching at Haddington, and *prophesying* to the people, that "strangers should possess their houses, and chase them from their habitations; which (adds the historian) shortly came to pass." There was no other invasion of Haddington about that period, and it is therefore fair to conclude, that the sermon was preached a little before the invasion, and that its author had learnt Hertford's design from himself, when he was with him at Newcastle.

We now proceed with the remainder of the correspondence between Brunstone and Henry's agents. On the 12th July 1545, we find Sir R. Sadler thus writing to Brunstone:—"In one parte of your said letters I note chiflie that certayn gentlemen, being your friends, [who his friends were we have already seen,] have offered, *for a small sounge of money, to tak hym out of the way* that hath been the sole impediment and lett to all good purposes there, so that they might be sure to have the King's Majestie their good lord."—"I pray you advertyze me what reward they do requyre; and if it be not unreasonable, (because I have been in your countrey, for the *Christian zeal* that I have to the commonweale of the same,) I will undertake it shall be paid immediatlie upon the act executed," &c.

Again he says, "wherefore I am of your opinion, and, as you wryte, think it would be *acceptable service to God* to take hym out of the way which, in such sort, doth not only, as much as in him is, obscure the *glory of God*, but also confound the commonweal of his own country."

It is necessary to observe here, that Tytler shows, by letters which he gives in his Appendix, (but which I omit for the sake of brevity,) that the king was very averse to appear openly in this nefarious transaction, though he gave every encouragement to his agents to proceed with it; but that Brunstone and his friends were not satisfied with this reserve on the part of Henry, and wished from his own hand a distinct avowal both of what he wanted them to do, and what reward he would give them for their pains. On

the 20th October the same year, Brunstone thus writes to Sir R. Sadler :—" I shall cause all the gentlemen, (that your L. knoweth,) my friends, to be ready, as it shall please the King's Majestie to command them, to assist to such as are most to the avauncing of his Majestie's affairs, as they have been at all tymes hitherto ; *but his Majestie must be plain with them, both what his Majestie would have them to do, and, in like manner, what they shall lippen to* [expect] *of his Majestie*" ! And then he goes on to propose to meet Sir R. Sadler at Berwick, "in the most secret manner; for it standeth me both in life and heritage if it be known." It is impossible to think very favourably of any one who could be the personal friend, as we know George Wishart was, of such an unprincipled wretch as this Brunstone.

We have no subsequent documents connected with this dark transaction. But it is necessary to observe here, that during the whole of 1545, and the beginning of 1546, Wishart was perambulating Ayrshire, Forfarshire, and Haddingtonshire, preaching the reformed doctrines, and prophesying the calamities which would befall the nation if it neglected them ; and this under the personal protection of the Earls Glencairn, Cassillis, and Marischal, Norman Leslie, and the Laids of Ormiston, Brunstone, and Langniddry, &c., *all* of whom we know were engaged at the time in plotting the murder of Beaton ; and in the end Wishart was arrested at Ormiston House, in the company of four of the conspirators. " Wishart enjoyed, it is to be remembered, (says Tytler,) the confidential intimacy, nay, we have reason to believe that his counsels influenced the conduct of Glencairn, Cassillis, Brunstone, and the party who were now the advisers of Henry's intended hostilities ; a circumstance which will perfectly account for the obscure warnings of the preacher, without endowing him with inspiration."

The sum of the whole is this : Wishart, the " martyr," came into Scotland with several of Henry VIII.'s agents, who were in that monarch's pay for effecting Beaton's destruction ; Wishart himself being as hostile to Beaton as they were, though perhaps from somewhat different motives. Soon after, Wishart the " conspirator," is sent to Henry on matters relative to " apprehending or slaying the cardinal." Whether this were the " martyr" or not, is of little consequence ; for, almost immediately after the return of this Wishart to his friends in Scotland, we find the undoubted " martyr" in the company of the very same " friends," exercising considerable influence over them, often living at their houses, and playing into their hands, by stirring up his hearers against popery and the cardinal, and finally arrested in their company ; two of the number being reformed preachers like himself, namely, John Knox and

James Melville; the first of whom maintained the general doctrine that it was lawful to destroy tyrants, and the second actually gave the fatal stroke to the cardinal. The evidence, consequently, of the "martyr's" being accessory to the conspiracy is irresistible.

And what is there to oppose to all this evidence against George Wishart? Two things are alleged. First, that if Beaton knew that he was conspiring against him, he would have charged him with that, as well as with heresy. But 1. Beaton could not consistently have charged Wishart with this crime, without equally charging the rest of the party who were concerned in it; which he might not consider it politic to do. 2. He could have had no more than *suspicions* of their guilt, since it was scarcely possible he could have been aware of transactions which, we have seen, were conducted with the utmost secrecy. 3. He had no need to convict Wishart of conspiracy, because, as the law then stood, heresy was enough to procure his death; and that he knew he could easily prove against him. Secondly, it is argued, that so pious a man as Wishart, and inflamed with such extraordinary zeal against the errors of popery, could not have been the conspirator we are supposing. I fear, alas! that ecclesiastical history will pronounce this to be but a feeble argument for his acquittal. We need go no farther than our own times for examples of men of great *seeming* piety, acting upon, if not advocating, the principle that the end justifies the means. But waiving this, I ask such objectors if they ever read the books called "The Hind Let Loose," and "Jus Populi Vindictum," where the principle of assassinating persecutors is *recommended*? I ask them if they ever read a book called the "Scots Worthies," several of which worthies were acknowledged murderers? And as Wishart and Knox are included in the list, it is astonishing that James Melville, who stabbed the cardinal, should have been excluded, seeing there are several among them who committed murder as certainly as he did; namely, James Mitchell, Balfour of Burley, and Haxton of Rathillet: not to mention the still greater number against whom there were the strongest suspicions of their having been accessaries to the same crime; and others of them who urged on the massacre and execution of defenceless prisoners of war, on the plea of "doing justice on delinquents." With these examples before our eyes, we must not urge a man's supposed piety as an argument for his innocence, when there was a strong feeling impelling him to a crime, when the custom of the age sanctioned it, and when the evidence against him is all but conclusive. We know that the principle of the end justifying the means was avowed and defended at the era of the Reformation in Scotland. The murderers of Beaton were not thought the worse of by the reformers for the part they

had taken against their common enemy. They received pensions from Henry VIII. and Edward VI. during the lives of these two sovereigns; most of them rose to high rank in the army; and though it was remarked that they met with violent deaths in the end, it would be rash to assert that it was on account of the part they took in the assassination of Beaton. We have seen that Henry himself and his privy council, and his ambassadors Hertford and Sadler, were not ashamed to correspond with their friends in Scotland on the subject of "apprehending or slaying the cardinal," for the promoting of their own purposes. Even John Knox, from his "merry" account of the transaction, and calling it a "godly deed," evidently approved of it, and probably was privy to it; for he was domestic tutor in the family of the Laird of Langniddry, (one of Wishart's protectors,) and the intimate friend and sword-bearer of the "martyr," and subsequently joined the conspirators in the castle of St Andrews. And besides this, the "Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland," expressly states that "Mr Henrie Balnevis, John Knox, preacher, being ane priest, — Carmichael, with mony othereis gentilmen, tuk pairt of the said treasoun." Again, James Melville (Knox himself tells us) "was familiarly acquainted with George Wishart;" and when he presented the sword to the cardinal's breast, made use of these words, "Remember that the mortal stroke I am now about to deal is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and his holy gospel." The martyrologist Fox affirms, that "the murderers were *stirred up by the Lord*, to murder the archbishop in his bed;" and the presbyterian historian Calderwood says, "the cardinal intended farther [mischief] if *the Lord had not stirred up some men of courage to cut him off in time*." All this shows, that in those times it was not unusual, even among men of high rank and professing uncommon piety, to do evil that good might come, or to justify others in doing so.

But to come down to a later period. Tytler has shown, that not only Queen Elizabeth and her chief ministers, but the reforming Scottish lords, Morton, Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, Ochiltree, &c., and, what is more, Knox himself, and Craig his colleague, were implicated in the conspiracy to murder David Rizzio, on the plea that he was engaged in an attempt to restore popery in Scotland.¹ And, in confirmation of this, we find Knox, when speaking of Lord Ruthven, one of the most savage of the murderers, calling him "a stout man, and *discreet in the cause of God*, who *prudently* gave counsel to *take justice* on that knave Davie." Again, Tytler has

¹ Appendix to vol. vii.

developed the particulars of a conspiracy entered into, in the year 1772, by the *good* Queen Elizabeth and two of her ministers, and by the Scottish Earls of Mar and Morton, through the agency of Sir Henry Killigrew, to have Queen Mary removed from her English prison, and *secretly assassinated* in Scotland; and all on the ground of advancing the interests of religion.¹ Farther yet, when this scheme had failed, Elizabeth, still preferring private assassination to a public execution, directed her secretaries Walsingham and Davidson, to write thus to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, who had the charge of the Scottish queen:—"The queen appears, by some speeches lately uttered, to note in you a lack of care and zeal in her service, in respect you have not, all this time, of yourselves, *found out some way to shorten the life of that Queen.*" In neglecting to do so, besides a kind of lack of love to Elizabeth, she observed that the keepers of Mary had not that care of the *preservation of religion and the public good* they would be thought to have. Happily for themselves, Elizabeth's emissaries were more scrupulous than their mistress, and refused to commit the foul deeds to which she would have prompted them.

We may add to this, that the murderers of Archbishop Sharp were all *godly* men, according to the language of the day, and thought they were doing good service by removing one who, in being *their* enemy, was, as they persuaded themselves, the enemy of the truth. But the particulars of that affair, strikingly similar to that of Beaton in many of its circumstances, I have fully detailed elsewhere.

I have not noticed the alleged prediction of Beaton's assassination by Wishart in his last moments; though this, if true, would put the matter in question beyond doubt, since it *could* only have arisen from his being privy to the conspiracy. But I will not use an argument in favour of my position, unless it be well supported, which this is not. Sir David Lindsay, in his tragedy of Beaton, says nothing concerning the prophecy. Fox the martyrologist, does not mention it. Knox's first edition of his History, does not contain it. Finally, John Bale, a personal friend of Knox, who wrote, in 1559, an account of the burning of Wishart, is silent on the subject. Buchanan is the first author who speaks of it—an author of very little repute as an historian; and the account in the following edition of Knox, and in other works, is nothing more than a translation from Buchanan. Yet there is an unaccountable something in the prophecy which has given it currency; because, I suppose, palatable error is more readily believed than unpalatable truth. But let us look at facts as they are, not as imagination

¹ Appendix to vol. vii.

would paint them. Wishart's admirers have long hailed him both as a *prophet* and a *martyr*; but his pretensions to either character, when impartially examined, rest upon the same slender foundation. He did not, it is true, deserve death for heresy; but he deserved it for taking an active part in a conspiracy, which he knew was designed to cut off one who, in point of rank and ability, was the most distinguished man in Scotland, and, in point of morality, was certainly not a whit inferior to the men with whom Wishart himself was connected.

Upon a review of the whole, I think the fairest and most charitable conclusion we can come to is this: That Wishart was misled by the dangerous maxim of the times, (founded partly on a perversion of certain passages of the Old Testament,) that an action which was deemed subservient to the interests of religion, might be committed, though, under other circumstances, unlawful and detestable.

I will finish this article with mentioning, that, according to Lindsay of Pitcottie, Wishart, on the morning of his execution, informed the captain of the castle that he had seen, "in the north-west, a great fire upon the sea," which moved to St Andrews, and broke over the castle; also, that he had seen, "in the south-east, a great, misty, reeky cloud," which moved towards Dunpenderlaw and Haddington, out of which cloud he saw blood descending upon these places! Whether this is to be ascribed to the disordered imagination of Wishart, or the gossiping credulity of the Laird of Pitcottie, I leave to others to determine.

No. XLIII.

SECRET PAPER ADDRESSED BY THE CONSPIRATORS IN THE CASTLE OF ST ANDREWS, TO HENRY BALNEVIS OF HALHILL, AGENT OF HENRY VIII., WHO HAD BEEN WITH THEM A SHORT TIME BEFORE, BUT HAD NOW GONE TO PROCURE FARTHER ASSISTANCE FROM ENGLAND.—The date is December, 1546.¹

"Those things following are to show the king's majesty how

¹ Balnevis was one of the *pious* conspirators against Beaton, though not "in at the death;" but, like his friend Knox, he soon after joined the party in the castle. He received, in March, £1180, from Henry VIII., for a half year's pay to the garrison; and in May, £1300; and £450 for himself. Norman Leslie received from Henry £280, Sir James Kirkaldy £200, and many others smaller pensions, for their amity, as it is expressed in the Council Books.—*Keith*, p. 60; *Diurnal of Occurrences in Scotland*, p. 43. The allowance to the

things have been standing with us since your departure from the castle of St Andrews :—

“ 1st, On the Tuesday after your departure, the Governour of Scotland [Arran,] and the lords with him, sent to offer us restitution of our lands, heritages, tacks, benefices, and moveables, desiring that we would, in return, give up the castle and the Governour's son ; which offer we plainly refused : and that night, at six o'clock, the truce was given up.

“ 2d, On the next Friday, the Governour sent to the west trenches, four cannons, a battering culverin, two smaller culverins, and some double falcons, in order to batter the sea-tower that is at the north-west, and the west wall. And on Wednesday, they began and shot from seven in the morning continually, till four in the evening. We meanwhile caused our cannon be ordered and shot at their artillerie and gunners, and killed that day, John Borthwick, principal gunner, and sundry of the soldiers and men of war ; and hurt the Earle of Argyle's master-gunner, who yet lies bedfast. That day, they shot down all the battlements, and top house of the sea-tower, and the whole roof of the chambers next the sea ; and all this day, they shot upon the east side of the castle with fedderit ballatlis¹ at the hall and chapel, and dislodged us from that part by the downputting of the roof and slates. Next day, the Governour's artillery shot continually from morning till night, as they did the day before ; and that day we killed James Law, gunner, and three with him ; but our castle was much battered in the high parts and roof ; but because of the great slaughter made by us upon their gunners, they gave up further shooting with great artillery, and continued the siege with blockading, and small fire arms.

“ 3d, After your departing, we had no flesh after the 22d November, and continued so till the 10th December ; by which time

garrison was eightpence a day for 120 soldiers, forty of whom were horsemen. When the castle was taken by the French, Balnevis was sent to France, and imprisoned in the castle of Rouen, where he solaced himself by writing a treatise on “ Justification by faith *without works*.” He was subsequently employed, in conjunction with Knox, as a money-carrier from Queen Elizabeth to the Lords of the Congregation, whom it was the policy of that princess to retain in her service.—*Tytler*, vol. vi. p. 160-161. He afterwards took an active part with Moray and Buchanan against Queen Mary at York. This double-dealing character is well described in a letter from Sir R. Sadler to Cecil, State Papers, vol. i. p. 430-436. His conduct throughout was treasonable, yet close and cunning ; religious reformation the pretence, English gold the motive. He is, notwithstanding, a “ Scots worthy.”

A few passages in the above document, of little interest, are omitted.

¹ Bolts from the balista, or cross-bow, “ feathered” to guide them to their mark.

we had made a postern door in the middle of the east wall, and a great trench therefrom to the rock lying off the kitchen tower ; from which we put out in the night a small boat, and two men in her, who landed at Tentsmuir, and left there the boat, and passed to our most secret friend, the Laird of Montquhanny, with a letter to our friend whom you know, to cause get us flesh and flour, because we had, at that time, but ten bolls of meal, and five puncheons of wine. The Governour, by the making of the said postern door, suspecting that we were going to bring in victuals, caused watch the whole river of Tay on both sides, and guarded the same, so that no boat should have passage to us.

“ 4th, Meantime, by our great watching and waking, want of flesh, and that our fish were not good, Walter Melville, one of our chiefs, and twenty of ourservants, took a deadly sickness ; whereupon we used greater exertions, and daily made slaughter of our enemies.

“ 5th, We thus making daily resistance, the Governour caused to convene at St Andrews, the Queen, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Marshall, Glencairn ; the Lords Lindesay, Gray, Fleming, Ruthven, Cathcart ; the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, Brechin, Galloway ; and sundry temporal and spiritual lords ; to consult upon the continual remaining of the siege of the castle ;¹ and they took purpose that they would make a proposal to us : and if we refused, they would take our most special friends, the Laids of Raith and Montquhanny, Naughton, Culuchy, and put some of them to death, and the rest in prison. So on the Tuesday before St Thomas's day, which was the 17th December, Lyon herald was sent to us with a trumpet, at eleven o'clock before noon, and desired speaking ; to whom we made no answer. Then he departed, and told the Governour and council that he could have no speaking of us. He was sent to us again, at two o'clock the same day, to desire that we might be spoken to ; to which we condescended : and that night there was sent us the Justice-Clerk and Provost of Aberdeen, who desired to know if we would accept a reasonable offer ; to which we answered, that we would hear the same, and thereafter advise. On the morn, the Governour and council sent the above-mentioned persons with our own friend whom we desired, and offered to us the

¹ When the castle was captured the next summer, it was discovered, from papers which were found in it, that, of the above noblemen, Angus, Glencairn, Marshall, Fleming, and Gray, besides Kilmaurs, Cassillis, Bothwell, and many more of inferior rank, were in the pay of the King of England, for the promoting of his designs. First, they had taken part with Henry in 1543-4 ; then having partaken liberally of his bounty, they gave in their adherence to their own governor ; and now they had sold themselves a second time to Henry ! And yet these were Reformers ! See Tytler, vol. vi. p. 18.

keeping still the castle, and the Governour's son, till everything concerning us and our heritages, benefices, tacks, &c., were performed. Which offer we desired to consider of, and meantime to know what the Governour would expect us to do for the same, and to send some of his great men to advise with us thereupon.¹ This we did, that we might make them believe we had no necessity or distress, that they should abide more readily at the performing of their offer. After this, the Earls of Huntly, Marshall, and Lord Gray, spoke us at the castle walls, and showed us the great wish they had to do all things to our contentment, and find sureties that all things promised to us being done and ended, we should deliver up both house and bairn.

"So, considering we were to keep both house and bairn till everything were performed, and considering our great want of flesh and drink, we were content; and then they desired to have William Kircaldy one of our pledges, which we refused; whereupon the Governour was off from the agreement of Saturday, and we made plain defiance; upon which he sent again on the Sunday, and was content to take for the said William, David and James Kircaldy, which, by the advice of our friends, we agreed to; whereby we are more able to perform our first engagement to the king's majesty for furthering his affairs, and also shall have intelligence with our friends, and the castle shall be sufficiently provided, God willing; whereby, with the help of money from his grace, we shall do such service as shall stand to the advancing his affairs, his majesty continuing to support us as he has done in times bypast.

"*Item.* It is necessary to cause his majesty to consider that we must have support and aid of money, and this money to be sent to us by sea, in such sort that it may not be suspected to be from his grace, but of the coins of France, or other countries; by which, not only shall the castle be victualed to the keeping thereof, but also we shall give our friends such part thereof as that it may appear to have belonged to the cardinal; so that they shall be ready with us, when his majesty's force cometh, to do such things as his majesty may command us.²

"Moreover, you shall understand, that the continued shooting at the west parts of the castle spilt, in our cellars and brew-house, one month's provision.

¹ Some of these "great men" were their secret friends.

² The reader will observe, that the garrison had no intention of fulfilling their agreement with the Governor, which they had entered into merely to gain time. They intended part of the money for their "friends" without; but wished it to be in foreign coins, to prevent suspicion as to the quarter from whence it really came.

“*Item.* Fail not to solicit the king’s majesty to write to the emperor, causing him to write to the pope for the stopping and hindering our absolution, which will make the longer continuing of all things in our hands.¹

“Moreover, there is nothing done except by the best advice of those who love the advancing of the king’s affairs, and continued trouble of the stoppers thereof, as you shall know more at length by our writing.²

“*Item.* His majesty must send the support of money to us by sea, in a ship which must come to St Andrews, and put out a boat where they desire to speak to us, and to deliver the money quietly; and we, after its departing, will send to the Governour, showing him that they came to offer us victuals which we refused; and so there shall be no suspicion of any support, whereby our engagements shall be made surer with our friends.

“Moreover, his majesty shall have as good account of his money to be sent to us, as any of his treasurers of England make to his grace, that nothing shall be spent thereof but to the furthering of his highness’s affairs in these parts.”³

No. XLIV.

RECANTATION BY THE REV. CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, THE FIRST PROTESTANT MINISTER OF ST ANDREWS, OF CERTAIN POLITICAL DOCTRINES CONTAINED IN A BOOK PUBLISHED BY HIM AT GENEVA.
—This recantation was made in England, probably A.D. 1565-6.

“For so much as the extremity of the time, wherein I did write my book, brought forth alteration of religion, setting up of idolatry, banishment of good men, murdering of saints, and violation of all promises made to the godly,—I was, upon consideration of the present grief, moved to write many things therein, which may be, and be, offensively taken, and which also I do mislike, and would wish had not been written. And notwithstanding the which book so by me written, I do protest and confess, that good and godly

¹ They had refused to surrender unless a full pardon were procured from the pope for their murder of the Cardinal; but that was only a pretext to gain time. Vol. i. 309.

² Here again there is another allusion to their communication with the traitors without.

³ State Papers, vol. v.

women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations; and do, from the bottom of my heart, allow the queen's majesty's most lawful government, and daily pray for the long continuance of the same. Neither did I ever mean to affirm, that any person or persons, of their own private authority, ought or might lawfully have punished Queen Mary with death; nor that the people of their own authority may lawfully punish their magistrates transgressing the Lord's precepts; nor that ordinarily God is become head of the people, and giveth the sword into their hands, though they do seek the accomplishment of his laws.

"Wherefore, as many of these assertions as may be rightly collected out of my said book, them I do utterly renounce and revoke, as none of mine, promising never to write, teach, nor preach any such offensive doctrine; humbly desiring, that it may please your lordships to give me your good and favourable allowance, whereby I shall, by God's grace, endeavour to labour in furthering the true service of God, and obedience to her majesty, to the utmost of my power, during my whole life, to the satisfaction of all good men, and to the contentation of her majesty, and your good lordships.

"CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN."¹

No. XLV.

RATIFICATION OF THE SENZIE FAIR OF ST ANDREWS BY JAMES VI., A.D. 1581.

"Oursoveraine lord and three estatis of parliament, understanding that the provost, baillies, counsall, and communitie of the citie of Sanctandreis and thair predicessouris has bene in use and possessioun of ane public fair and mercat callit the Seinzie Fair, beginnand upon the Mononday after pasche Mononday, yeirlie, and continuand to the space of xv days nixt thereafter, within the said citie and cloister of the abbay, situate within the same in all tymes bigane, past memorie of man; by the quilk fair, our soveraine lordis lieges has grit commoditie, baith by buying and selling of all kind of waires: Therefor, our said soveraine lord, with advice of the three estatis foirsaidis, has ratifiit and apprevit, and, by the tenor heirof,

¹ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 125. "This recantation," (adds this author,) "was made either before the queen's privy council, or her bishops of the ecclesiastical commission, who, in all probability, had summoned Goodman before them for his book that contained such principles as they could not but take notice of."

ratificis, appoves, and confirmis, the foirsaid privilege of the said mercat and fair to the saidis provost, baillies, counsall, and communitie, and their successouris, to be yearly haldin within the said cloister of the foirsaid abbay, for the said space of xv days, beginnand, as said is, conforme to the auld consuetude and use observit thairanent of befoir, and to thair said privilege in all pointis, &c. ; and ordainis letters to be directed to make publicatioun heirof, gif neid beis."

Note.—The word *Senzis* means, I believe, assize or consistory ; and the fair was probably so called from the ecclesiastical court of that name being held at the same time, and perhaps connected with it. The religious houses, before the Reformation, must have been the chief buyers from the foreign merchants, and their tenants the chief venders to them ; and thus we may account for the fair being held in the abbey cloister. Being covered over, it would also protect the goods from rain. It would appear, moreover, that, in 1581, the cloister was in a sufficiently entire state to admit of the annual fair being held in it. But it could scarcely have lasted so long as fifteen days at that time ; and *now*, the same fair is held in the open street, and reduced to a single day.

No. XLVI.

REASONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS FOR REFUSING TO SIGN THE COVENANT OF 1638.

" Imprimis, for sameekle as no subject, nor subjects whatsoever, without authoritie and comission from the prince, (to whom allanerly under God we stand subject and oblished,) can give, præscryve, or exact oath or subscription from any of his majestie's leidges whatsoever, so ought neither any subject whatsoever take or receave ane oath from any, except his most sacred majestie, and his forsaid delegats and comissioners ; of whilk number, seeing these pretended comissioners, urgers, and exacters of this oath and covenant cannot instruct or qualifie themselves to be, we, as his majestie's free subjects and leidges, have most just cause and excuse of refusall to take ane oath from these urgers and exacters, unless we wold willingly quyt our libertie, and render ourselves subjects and leidges to others we know not who.

" 2. Seeing not only these pretended comissioners, bot also that

pretendit convention from which they are directed and sent, not only have no authoritie and comission, ordinar or extraordinar, from our said sacred soveraigne, bot also all such meetings in generall, be act of parliament, (and this in particular, by his majesty's late proclamation at Stirling, February 22, last bypast,¹) are peremptorily discharged and forbidden, under the paine of treason—it is evident that no subject can receave nor subscribe anything whatsoever coming from that convention or meeting, unles they will incurre the same paine, and wilfullie cast themselves in the condition of rebellion and treason, certified and denounced to all and sundrie by his majestie's forsaid proclamation.

“3. As all bands and legues among subjects, without the privitie and consent of the prince, under whatsoever colour or pretence they goe, are everywhere suspicious, so they are expressly defended and discharged by the lawes and constitutions of this kingdome;² and the makers and subscribers of the same, declared and holden as movers of sedition and inquietnes, to the breach and trubling of the public peace of the kingdome, and to be persued and punished with all rigor.

“4. Neither will the example of their predecessors, subscribevitt anno 1580, cloacke or excuse this their band or covenant, seing their proceeding at that tyme was done by warrant and allowance of authoritie, both of the secreit counsell giving ane act for the doing of it, and of his majestie, at whom it began; of which warrands we are now destitute, and rather by the contrare dissuaded; [and] for the matter, and summe of the oath obruded, that which is most specious in it, and therefore is prefixed that it may give title and favor to all the rest subjoynd, (I meane that abjuration by Mr Craig, anno 1580 forsaid,) it had no more warrant nor authoritie at that tyme for urging of it upon his majestie's subjects, than the booke of comon prayer (compyled by his majestie's direction, and act of Generall Assemblie at Aberdeen, [in 1616,] and aproven be act of counsell, and the suffrages of the archbishops and bishops, the ordinarie authoritative assembly in all churches and kingdomes where Episcopacie hes, or ever had place) hath now to be urged.³

¹ King James VI. Parl. 8. Act 13.

² King James VI. Parl. 10. Act 12.

³ The Rev. Mr Craig was employed by James VI. to draw up the covenant or abjuration of 1580, in which the errors of popery were solemnly renounced. The meaning of this and the following paragraph seems to be, that whatever were the legal authority for the covenant of 1580, there was the same for the acts of the Aberdeen Assembly in 1616, which enjoined the Book of Common Prayer; and that, at any rate, the covenant of 1638, which professed to found itself on that of 1580, ought to contain nothing contrary to it,—which, nevertheless, it did.

“ 5. If there be anything in the comon prayer dissonant from that abjuration forsaide, or any wayes crosseing the same, (whilk notwithstanding be ane impartiall reader will not be found,) yet the præceeding sentence sould not præscriue unto its subsequent, bot, on the contrare, *posteriora præjudicant prioribus*; and the posterior acts of parliament or counsell doe interpret (or rather many tymes abrogat) the former; whilk, as it hes beene the custome in all comonwealths, so in the church also, to whom power is given in matter of externall policie and order in the worships of God, (be our Confession of Faith insert in the acts of parliament,) to alter and change the samen, according to the exigence of tymes, places, and persons.

“ 6. This new presented covenant containeth many additions and novelties not once mentioned in that covenant or abjuration contrived by Mr Craig *anno* forsaide; whilk, notwithstanding, these covenanters will have are contained in the same; as namely, the government and authoritie by archbishops and bishops, the articles concluded in the Generall Assembly at Aberdeen, St Andrews, and Perth—whilk all they declare and pronounce to be abjured, as novations, errors, and articles or heads of popery; and therefor to be abhorred and detested, no lesse than if the same had beene particularly exprest in the forsaide abjuration; whilk, as it is a notable abusing of the leidges to obtrude all unto them under the name of the forsaide first covenant, so albeit these articles (whom it pleased them to call novations) have some affinitie or likenes unto these expreslie abjured in their first covenant, yet it is ane high presumption and attempt of these contryvers of this new covenant (by themselves, without the advyse or judgement either of the fathers and rulers of the church, or their brethren the greater part of the church, or of the ancient Universities of the kingdome) to take upon them to instruct, interpret, expone, and propone authoritative, the confessions and articles of faith; and, upon their examination and undoubted beleiffe, to præscriue and urge the same upon others nothing inferior to themselves; the lyke of which attempt, presumption, and tyrannie—not only over our practise, bot also over judgements and consciences—was never yet found in the archbishops and bishops, (whom they doe so odiouslie traduce,) neither in any free kirke or kingdome.

“ 7. These additions, interpretations, and deductions of theirs, as they are and will be found besyde the text, so they are expreslie contrar unto acts both of Assemblie and Parliaments, and the fundamentall lawes of this kingdome; which, albeit they needleslie multiplie and quott (makeing a show as if they regarded and followed them,) yet both most prævaricatinglie they doe dissemble

and suppress, (passing over in silence all acts making againes themselves and their purpose,) and promising and declaring, befor God and his angels, that they will forbear the practise of them, and maintaine all and whatsomever contraveining, against all deadlie; whilk, if these be words of a blessed and loyall conjunction, lett any man judge.

“8. Neither will the pretext [avail?] of ane new and free assemblie and parliament, (untill whose re-examination they suspend all obedience, and pressing of lawfull means, whilk they wold seeme to professe and promise to use in the recoverie of the puritie of the Gospell, as it was professed befor the forsaid pretendit novations;) for, this course which is taken, by drawing all the subjects by oath and subscription to precondemn the said articles befor these pretendit free assemblies and parliaments are conveyned, plainly prejudgeth and stoppeth the way unto all examination and voteing, and can be no pretext or name of lawfull means; seing it is to arme all, in the meane tyme and for ever, although these articles were re-examined lawfullie and re-established, unto disobedience, and detestation of them as popery and superstition.

“9. Suppose that this course were legal, and that it neither crossed the libertie nor loyaltie of subjects, neither authoritie of lawes standing or to be established—yett this oath is against both veritie (in condemning, abjureing, and detesting these articles as poperie, whilk they will never be able to make good) and Christian charity also, whilk we sould carrie towards others, not only privat persons, bot also haill and most glorious reputed churches, yea, Geneva it-selfe, liveing and settled in the same practise. To passe that, it consequently redounds upon his most sacred majestie, and his blessed father, and his royall predecessors in that kingdome of England, and their practise and profession ever since the purging of that kingdome of popery and superstition.

“10. Last of all, we will not presse, nor curiouslie rype up, many ambiguous, and, apparently, most dangerous words and practises in their oath and covenant: as, first, The mention of most urgent necessitie at this tyme of reformation, not spareing the king's owne house, albeit in ane other kingdome. 2. Band and promise to recover the puritie of religion, chiefly and most principallie belonging to our soveraigne lord, and declared to be his prerogative in our confession of faith. 3. The ostentation of power whilk (as they say) God hath putt in their hands. 4. The mainteining of his majestie's authoritie, crowne, and honor, whilk albeit often and gloriously repeited, yet ever with the clause and condition of maintenance of the forsaid pretendit trew religion, proposed and praescribed by themselves allanerly; for the which cause, they mention and

presse ane oath both on prince and people. 5. Mutuall maintenance one of another, to the uttermost of their power, and that against all persons whatsomever, from which generall his majestie himselfe is not excluded; a practise and speach never learned of Christ Jesus, or hard of in ancient and purest tymes of the Church; yea, condemned in these laitt tymes be the greatest and most learned of these who lived in most mutinous tymes and places."¹

No. XLVII.

SIR EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHEIL'S VISIT TO THE ROYALIST PRISONERS IN THE CASTLE OF ST ANDREWS, THE DAY BEFORE THEIR EXECUTION, A.D. 1646.

"The parliament meeting at St Andrews, upon the 26th November thereafter, they brought the rest of the prisoners thither to receive their doom. The Marquess of Argyle brought Locheill with him to this bloody assembly. Though that gentleman was yet too young to make any solid reflections on the conduct of his guardian, yet he soon conceived an aversion to the crewelty of that barbarous faction. He had a custome of visiteing the state prisoners as he travelled from city to city; but as he was ignorant of the reasons why they were confined, so he cowld have no other view in it but to satisfie his curiosity. But he had soon an opportunity of being fully informed.

"The first that were appointed to open the tragedy was the Earl of Heartfell and the Lord Ogilby. But the last having had the good fortune to make his escape on the night preceding the day designed for his execution, by exchangeing cloaths with his sister, who supplied his place till he was gone,—Argyle, conceiving that he was favoured by the Hamiltons, his relatives, did, in meer spite to them, save the Earl of Heartfell, whose blood they thirsted for.

"Ogilby's escape occasioned Sir Robert Spotiswood, and the other two [three] who were under sentence of death with him, to be confined in so strick a manner, that even their nearest friends and relations were discharged access. Locheill had, after his usewall manner, formed a desigine of seeing them before their execution;

¹ Baillie's MS. Letters, vol. i. folio 67. I am indebted to the courtesy of the well-known Mr David Laing, for causing the foregoing document to be transcribed for my use.

and the difficulty of effecting it increased his curiosity, and added to his resolution. He took an opportunity when the Marquess was busy; and walking alone to the castle, where they were confined, he called for the captain of the guard, and boldly demanded admittance. The captain, doubtful what to do, and excusing himself by the strickness of his orders, 'What!' said Locheill, 'I thought you had known me better than to fancy that I was included in these orders! In plain terms, I am resolved not only to see these gentlemen, but expect you will conduct me to their apartments.' These words he spoke with so much assurance, that the captain, afraid of Argyle's resentment if he disobliged his favourite, ordered the doors to be opened, and leading the way into Sir Robert's room, excused himself that he could not stay, and retired.

"That venerable person appeared no way dejected, but received his visitant with as much cheerfulness as if he had enjoyed full liberty. He viewed him attentively all over, and having informed himself who he was, and of the occasion of his being in that place, 'Are you,' said he, 'the sone of John Cameron, my late worthy friend and acquaintance, and the grandchild of the loyall Allan M'Coildue, who was not only instrumentall in procuring that great victory to the gallant Marquess of Montrose, which he lately obtained at Inverlochy, but likewise assistant to him in the brave actions that followed, by the stout party of able men that he sent along with him?' And then, embracing him with great tenderness, he asked how he came to be putt in the hands of the Marquess of Argyle? And Locheill having satisfied him as well as he could—'It is surprizing to me,' said he, 'that your friends, who are loyall men, should have intrusted the care of your education to a person so opposite to them in principles, as well with respect to the Church as to the State! Can they expect you will learn anything at that school but treachery, ingratitude, enthusiasm, cruelty, treason, disloyalty, and avarice?'

"Locheill excused his friends, and answering Sir Robert that Argyle was as civil and carefull of him as his father could possibly be, asked him why he charged his benefactor with such vices? Sir Robert answered that he was sorey he had so much reason; and that, though the civility and kindness he spoke of were dangerous snares for one of his years, yet he hoped, from his own good disposition, and the loyalty and good principles of his relations, he would imitate the example of his predecessors, and not of his patron. He then proceeded to open to him the history of the rebellion, from its first breaking out, and gave him a distinct view of the tempers and characters of the different factions that had conspired against the mytre and crown; explained the nature of our constitution, and in-

sisted much on the piety, innocence, and integrity of the king. In a word, he omitted no circumstance that he judged proper to give a clear idea and conception of the state of affairs, which he related with great order. Locheill was surprized at the relation, and listened with attention. Every part of it affected him ; and he felt such a strange variety of motions in his breast, and conceived such a hatred and antipathy against the perfidious authors of these calamitys, that the impression continued with him during his life.

“ Sir Robert was much pleased to observe that his discourses had the designed influence. He conjured him to leave Argyle as soon as possibly he could ; and exhorted him, as he valued his honour and prosperity in this life, and his immortal happiness in the next, not to allow himself to be seduced by the artfull insinuations of subtile rebels, who never want plausible pretexts to cover their treasons ; nor to be ensnared by the hypocriticall sanctity of distracted enthusiasts ; and observed, that the present saints and apostels,—who arrogantly assumed to themselves a title to reform the Church, and to compell mankind to believe their impious, wild, and indigested notions, as so many articles of faith,—were either excessively ignorant and stupid, or monstrously selfish, perverse, and wicked. ‘ Judge alwayes of mankind,’ said he, ‘ by their actions : there is no knowing the heart. Religion and virtue are inseparable, and are the only sure and infalible guides to pleasure and happiness. As they teach us our several dutys to God, to our neighbour, to ourselves, and to our king and countrey, so it is impossible that a person can be indued with either, who is deficient in any one of these indispensable duties, whatever he may pretend. Remember, young man, that you hear this from one who is to die to-morrow for endeavouring to perform these sacred obligations, and who can have no other interest in what he says, but a reall concern for your prosperity, hapiness, and honour!’

“ Several hours passed away in these discourses, before Locheill was aware that he had stayed too long. He took leave with tears in his eyes, and a heart bursting with a swell of passionis which he had not formerly felt. He was next conducted to the appartment of Collonell Nathaniel Gordon, a hansom young gentleman of very extraordinary qualities, and of great courage and fortitude ; and having condoled with him for a few moments, he went to that of William Murray, a youth of uncommon vigour and vivacity, not exceeding the nineteenth year of his age. He bore his misfortune with a heroick spirit, and said to Locheill that he was not afraid to die, since he died in his duty, and was assured of a happy immortality for his reward. This gentleman was brother to the Earl of Tulliebardine, who had interest enough to have saved him ; but, it

is affirmed by cotemporary historians, that he not only gave way to, but even promotted his tryall, in acquainting the Parliament, which then demurred upon the matter, that he had renounced him as a brother, since he had joyned that wicked crew, (meaning the royallists,) and that he would take it as no favour to spare him. Of such violence was that faction, as utterly to extinguish humanity, unman the sowle, and drain off nature herself. And it may be observed, that an ungoverned zeale for religion is more fruitfull of mischief than all the other passions putt together.

"The next day the bloody sentence was executed upon these innocents. Two preachers had, for some days preceding, endeavoured to prepare the people for the sacrifice, which, they said, 'God himself required, to expiate the sins of the land!' And, because they dreaded the influence that the dying words of so eloquent a speaker as Sir Robert Spotiswood might have upon the hearers, they not only stopt his mouth, but tormented him in the last moments of his life, with their officious exhortations and rapsodies.

"Locheill beheld the tragedy from a window opposite to the scaffold, in company with the marquess and other heads of the faction. The scenes were so moveing, that it was impossible for him to conceal his excessive griefs, and, indeed, the exampleary fortitude and resignation of the sufferers drew tears from a great maney of the spectators, though prepossessed against them as accursed wretches, guilty of the most enormous cryms, and indicted by God himself, whose providence had retaliated upon themselves the mischiefs they had so often done to his servants.

"When the melancholy spectacle was over, Locheill, who still concealed the visite he had made them, tooke the freedom to ask my Lord Argyle 'what their cryms were? For,' said he, 'nothing of the criminall appeared from their behaviour. They had the face and courage of gentlemen, and they died with the meekness and resignation of men that were not conscious of guilt. We expected to have heard an open confession of their cryms from their own mouths: but they were not allowed to speak, though I am informed that the most wicked robbers and murderers are never debared that freedom!'

"His lordship, who was surprised to hear such just and natural observations come from so young a person, and willing to efface the impressions that such objects commonly make upon generous minds, employed all his arte and eloquence, whereof he was a great master, to justify the conduct of his party, and to paint the actions of his antagonists in the most odious collours.¹"

¹ Memoirs of Sir E. Cameron of Locheill, p. 76-80. Printed by the Abbotsford Club.

No. XLVIII.

THE OFFICIAL ORDER FOR THE PUBLIC BURNING OF MR SAMUEL RUTHERFORD'S "LEX REX," AND THE CONFINEMENT OF ITS AUTHOR.—THE EPITAPH ON HIS TOMB-STONE,—A.D. 1660.

"*Mononday, the 22th October, 1660.*

"The provost produced a letter direct by Robert Murray provost of Edinburgh, to the provost, bailies, and counsell of this citie, showing that the committee of estates of parliament had recommended to him to send two acts of the committee of the 16th of this instant; the one whereof against Mr Samuel Rutherford, confining him in his chamber, and discharging him from the exercise of his office as principal, and sequestrating his benefits; the other of the acts, ordaining the book entitled *Lex Rex* to be burnt by the hand of the hangman in the mercat-place, and mercat tyme of day, and the printed proclamation be read immediately before; and that the magistrats and counsell are to see the acts put in operation, and report their diligence to the committee of parliament, at their down-sitting the last of this instant. The letter is dated the 19th of this instant. Follows the coppie of the acts at Edinburgh, 16th October 1660. 'The committee of estates now presentlie convened by his majestie's special authoritie, considering that they have declared against the book entitled *Lex Rex*, and that the same is full of seditious and treasonable matter, corrupting the minds of his majesty's subjects, and withdrawing them from the dewtie of that loyal love and obedience they owe unto his sacred person and greatness; Therefore they doe ordain the book entitled *Lex Rex* to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, in the mercat-place of the burgh of St Andrews, upon an mercat day before noon; and, immediatelie before the burning thereof, that the proclamation against the said book be read, and ordains the magistrats of the burgh of St Andrews to see the premises put to execution, as they will be answerable; sic subscribitur, GLENCAIRN, Can^m.'"

The copy of the other act begins thus: "Edinburgh, 16th October 1660. The committee of estates now presentlie convened by his majesty's special warrant and authoritie, considering that they have issued out summonds upon the 17th of September last, against Mr S. Rutherford, late principal of the new college of St Andrews, to compare before the said —." ¹ Here it breaks off.

¹ Town Council Records, *sub anno*. The doctrine of the *Lex Rex* is, that, to rulers obedience is due generally; but, if they act contrary to what their

I may add, that Rutherford lies buried in the churchyard here, under a plain stone, with this epitaph :

M.

S. R.

Here lyes the Reverend M. Samuell
Rutherford professor of Divinity in
the university of St Andrews, who
died March 20, 1661.

What hand, or pen, or skill of men,
Can famous Rutherford commend.
His learning justly raised his fame;
True godliness adorned his name.
He did converse with things above,
Acquainted with Emanuel's love.
Most orthodox he was and sound,
And many errors did confound.
For Zion's king, and Zion's cause,
And Scotland's covenanted laws,
Most constantly he did commend,
Until his time was at an end.
Then he wan to the full fruition,
Of that which he had seen in vision.

No. XLIX.

CHARLES II.'s PRESENTATION-CHARTER OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST ANDREWS TO ARCHBISHOP JAMES SHARP, A.D. 1661.

“ Charles, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all good men to whom these presents shall come, salutem. Know that we, considering that in the

subjects conceive to be right, especially in regard to the establishment of religion, they are not only to be disobeyed, but, if possible, coerced and punished. Preface, pp. 3, 6, 9, 10. And this opinion the Author founds on those parts of Scripture where prophets are divinely commissioned to denounce God's judgments on notorious offenders. The sentiments, as well as the language, which is exceedingly coarse and offensive, are very similar to those of Knox in his History of the Reformation. The work, moreover, is well seasoned with slander; as an instance of which, the author has the matchless effrontery to tell his readers, that one of the most virtuous prelates that ever existed, Archbishop Spotswood, was guilty of incest with his own daughter ! Yet this work has been recently advertised for republication ! But, if its tendency was thought mischievous in 1660, it cannot be good in 1843.

time not long since past, during nearly twenty-three years of disorder, many acts were passed in pretended parliaments, and pretended judicatories, in this our ancient kingdom of Scotland, for the total extirpation of the ecclesiastical constitution by archbishops and bishops, contrary to the stability, law, and constitution of the church of our said kingdom, and to the prejudice of our royal power and prerogative; which things, by act of the new session of our parliament, held at Edinburgh on the 1st day of January last, are to be held, and are declared null and void from the beginning; so that the civil and ecclesiastical authority is now restored and renewed, according to the laws ordained previously to that most wicked rebellion and tumult; and because, during that time, many who were appointed to the various functions of archbishops and bishops in our said kingdom, besides deans and members of chapters, are deceased, and their offices vacant, so that they cannot now be chosen according to the order prescribed by our dear grandfather James I., of eternal and glorious memory, in his parliament held at Edinburgh, A.D. 1617; and considering, also, that the supplying of the said functions of archbishops and bishops in our said kingdom of Scotland, rests with us since the death or deposition of the late incumbents, and particularly of the archbishopric of St Andrews, since the death of John [Spotswood] the last archbishop, primate, and metropolitan of our said kingdom of Scotland; and, being assured of the piety, prudence, erudition, and fidelity of our beloved Master, James Sharp rector of the university of St Andrews, as one well qualified for our service in the church; therefore, by our royal authority and power, and of our own free will and accord, we have made, created, and appointed, and by these presents do make, create, and appoint¹ Master James Sharp archbishop of the said archbishopric of St Andrews, and primate and metropolitan of our whole kingdom of Scotland; giving and granting to him, during his whole life, the said archbishopric of St Andrews, with all the benefices thereunto annexed; together with all and single the lands, lordships, baronies, abbeys, provostships, mansions, castles, towers, fortillages, manors, places, gardens, meadows, mills, woods, fisheries, tiends, revenues, churches, advowsons, donations, patronial rights, great and small tithes of rectories and vicarages, fruits, rents, emoluments, superiorities, farms, kane, customs, commodities, and casualties annexed to the parts, pertinenta, and pendicles of the same whatsoever; to be held free from servitude, wherever they

¹ When the king is said to "make, create," &c., it is to be understood that, as patron, he presents to the *temporalities* of the office; because it is well known that Sharp was duly consecrated to the *spiritual* part of it by those who alone were competent to invest him with this authority.

exist, and lie within our said kingdom of Scotland : Also, together with the right and jurisdiction of regality, and free chapel and chantery, with all and whole other dignities, honours, immunities, jurisdictions, and liberties pertaining, or which have pertained, to the said archbishopric at any time past, from its first foundation, and which were possessed and enjoyed by the aforesaid late archbishop, [Spotswood,] or by any of his predecessors, archbishops of the same, in virtue of the provision of the said archbishopric and the other benefices annexed, and rights conceded thereto ; with power to the said Master James Sharp to enjoy and possess the said archbishopric of St Andrews, and all the other benefices annexed to the same ; with all and single the lands, mansions, castles, towers, fortillages, &c. &c., (as above,) with all other profits and dues, as well temporal as spiritual, pertaining to the said archbishopric, or which were possessed by the foresaid late John, archbishop of the same, or by his predecessors, or which now pertain to the said archbishopric freely, quietly, and peaceably, without revocation or contradiction : Declaring by these presents, all gifts and grants made by us, or any of our illustrious predecessors whatsoever, of rents, casualties, privileges, patronial and commissariat rights, pertaining to the said archbishopric, to be recalled and rescinded as null and void from the beginning, as if they had never been done or conceded : Excepting and reserving from the present donation and disposition, the right, privilege, liberty, benefice, and quotes of testament granted by our late dear father of happy memory to the bishopric of Edinburgh, by the new charter of foundation and erection of the said bishopric of Edinburgh, within the bounds, churches, and parishes lying to the south side of the water of Forth, which formerly belonged to the said archbishopric of St Andrews : And because, instead of these, it seemed good to our said dear father of happy memory, by his charter of mortification and disposition, dated 21st May, 1635, to give, grant, mortify, and dispose to the said late John, archbishop of St Andrews, and to his successors, archbishops of the same, all and whole the lands, houses, baronies, mills, woods, fisheries, &c., (as above,) and all other things whatever pertaining to the priory and abbey of St Andrews, its patrimony and proprietorship, as well temporal as spiritual, formerly belonging thereunto, wherein the same lie within our said kingdom of Scotland, and of which the priors and convent of the said abbey were in possession at any time past ; more particularly the lands of Northbank, with the great tithes of the same, (*cum decimis garbalibus* ;¹) the

¹ These lands, with their full "victual tiend," had formerly belonged to the priory, but had fallen into the hands of lay proprietors at the Reformation.

lands of Clairmont, with ditto ; the lands of Dynork, with ditto ; the lands of Balgoff, with ditto ; the lands of Strakinnes, with ditto ; the lands of Balon, and the church lands of Cupar, with ditto, together with the meadow and lawn, the park, waird, dovecot, and crem-sward of Balon ; the lands called the possel of Strakinnes, with ditto ; the lands of Cookston, with ditto ; the lands of Dumberæ, with ditto ; the lands of Drumcarre, with ditto ; the lands of Denhead, with ditto ; the lands of Cassindonand, with ditto ; the lands of Unthank, with ditto ; the lands of Craigston, with ditto ; the lands of Limbo, with ditto ; the lands of East Balrymont, with ditto ; the lands of West Balrymont and of New Mill, with ditto ; the lands of Langraw, with ditto ; the lands of Priorletham, with ditto ; the lands of Grange, with ditto ; the lands of Stravithie, with ditto ; the lands of Frierton, with ditto ; the lands of Kirktonhaugh, with ditto ; the lands of Pitlethie, with ditto ; the lands of Innerbogie, with ditto, including the newmill and the fuller's mill of Dairsie ; the lands of Kirthlick and Traslett, with ditto ; the lands of Chappel-ketle, with ditto ; the lands of the Kirkton of Markinch, and its church lands, with ditto ; the lands of Kiumucks, with ditto, including yairmill, newmill, lawmill, the abbey mills, the prior mills, with the mill-lands and their great tithes, the "multures suken" and all their pertinents ; the lands called "St Andrews lands of Lundie," with its great tithes ; the lands of Bromford, with ditto ; the lands of Priorwell, with ditto ; the lands of Drem, with ditto ; the lands of Pitmillie, with ditto ; the lands of Bonofield, with ditto ; the lands of Fedinch, with ditto ; the lands of Ballinbreith, with ditto ; the lands of Rossieclero, with ditto ; the lands of Pitsenthies, with ditto ; the lands of Gramhill, with the prior's croft in Crail, called the "Cottoness Croft," with ditto ; and another prior's croft in Crail, possessed by Thomas Myreton of Cambo, with ditto ; the abbey croft of St Andrews, with ditto ; the waird meadow called the Pitmillie meadow, the lands called "Bemson's third of Lameletham," with ditto ; two gardens within the monastery of St Andrews on the south side of guest hills yard, called "Baine's dale yard," within the said monastery, with the said enclosure, and the stenzie chamber and its gardens ; the lands called "the Wjaist," near the malthouse, the Beargirnell and its garden, with the swords and skippers yard, the abbey barn yards, the bean-yard, with the houses round the gate of the said

These proprietors, in the reign of Charles I., had surrendered at his instance, and on certain conditions, a small annual feu-duty, or superiority, from their lands, as a provision for the archbishop, under the name of "bishop's rents." This, therefore, is all we are to understand by the above lands and their "decimæ garbales" being now granted to Archbishop Sharp.

monastery, the garden on the north side of the haughsyde garden above
 on the west side of the water towards the
 burial-place, and the house within the said monastery which Walter
 Buchanan held on lease; the whole lands lying within our city and
 burgh of St Andrews, with their great tithes; together with all and
 single the castles, towers, fortilages, mansions, places, &c., (as
 above,) with all their dependencies, tenures, and tenantries, and
 free service of tenantries; of all and single mills, acres, crofts, and
 others, particularly and generally, as above expressed, with all their
 pertinents, lying within our county of Fife; and all and single the
 lauds, houses, tenements, and gardens, lying within our city of St
 Andrews on the south part of the street, called the Blankgate, be-
 ginning at the gate of the abbey of St Andrews, and extending
 from thence to the south side of the Burnwynd, with the whole
 lands, tenements, and gardens lying on the south side of the same;
 and from thence descending to the south part of the same; and
 from the said south part to the pigeon-house of St Leonard's, which
 lies on the south side, to the west of the stone-wall which surrounds
 the monastery; with all their parts and pendicles lying within our
 city and county, as aforesaid: Also, all and whole, the lands of
 Pilmore, with its great tithes; the lands of Inchturth, with ditto;
 the lands of Inchyra, with ditto; the lands of Rossieclero, with ditto,
 together with the parts, pendicles, and pertinents of the whole said
 lands, tenures, tenantries, and free service of tenantries of the whole of
 the said lands and pertinents lying within our county of Perth; the
 lands of Littlebour, with ditto; the lands of Pitcouters, with ditto;
 and with all other parts, pendicles, and pertinents, &c., lying within
 our county of Forfar; the lands of Chappleton, with ditto; the
 kirk-lands of Benoughtie, with ditto; the lands of Haddo, with
 ditto; and with all other parts, pendicles, pertinents, &c., lying
 within our county of Kincardine; the lands of Bourtrie, with ditto;
 and with all other, &c., lying within our county of Aberdeen; all
 and whole the granaries called the "Prior of St Andrews' girnels,"
 with their pertinents, lying in the town of Leith, in the county of
 Edinburgh; the lands of Drem, in our county of Edinburgh and
 constabulary of Haddington; the lands of Greigston, with its great
 tithes, and their pertinents, lying within our county of ;
 the lands of Moristoun, with ditto, with all the parts, &c., lying
 within our bailihood of Lauderdale; the lands of Parklee; the lands
 of Ochiltree, with all the parts, &c., lying within our county of
 Linlithgow; and all their rents and revenues, as is particularly
 specified in the aforesaid charter of foundation and mortification:
 All and whole the monastery or abbey of St Andrews, with all the
 houses, buildings, and gardens lying within the precincts and bounds

of the said monastery, together with all their parts, pendicles, and pertinents whatasoever, with all other lands, baronies, castles, towers, &c., (as above,) wherever situated within our kingdom, with all the profits and emoluments, temporalities, and properties which formerly belonged to the said abbey or priory of St Andrews. And, besides these, the entire patronage, teind, and other tithes, rectorial and vicarial, fruits, rents, emoluments, and dues of the following parishes, viz. :—The parish church of St Andrews, called Trinity Church; the church of St Leonard, within the college of St Leonard; the church of Leuchars; of Forgan in Fife, Cupar, Lathrisk, Soone, Kennoway, Markinch, Long Forgan, Eglishgreig, Rossie in Gowrie, Fordun in the Mearns, Bourtie, Nigvie and Tarlane; Dull in Atholl, Inchtute, Fowlis, Portmoak, Abercrombie, Linlithgow, Haddington, Port-on-Craig, and Kinnaird; which churches, with the spirituality of the same, formerly belonged to the abbey and priory of St Andrews: And also, all and whole, the college called the College of St Leonard, founded within our said city of St Andrews; with all the lands, houses, gardens, parts, and pendicles pertaining thereto; with the provision, nomination, and admission of all the masters, regents, and bursars of the said college, as often as their places shall become vacant by death, or deprivation, or otherwise; with every right and title competent, or that may be competent, to whatever lands, baronies, churches, tithes, parishes, patronages, &c., which belonged to the said priory of St Andrews in temporal or spiritual proprietorship, as is more fully expressed in the aforesaid charter of foundation, mortification, and donation. Therefore we have given and granted, for ourselves and successors, and not only ratify this our charter of mortification, but also we *de novo* grant and concede to the said Master James Sharp, and his successors, archbishops of St Andrews, the entire said lordship of St Andrews, and the whole lands, baronies, patronages, and whatever else belongs, or did formerly belong, to the same, spiritually and temporally, as is contained in the charter which our dear father of glorious memory, granted to John the late archbishop of St Andrews. With power to the said James, now archbishop of St Andrews, to enjoy the said priory and entire benefices, with all and single its lands, mansions, castles, towers, &c., (as above,) and to receive, uplift, and dispense all and single, rectorial and vicarial tithes, farms, tienda, rents, &c., (as above,) which belonged to the said monastery, or which had at any time been enjoyed by the priors and convent of the same; with all and whole other commodities and benefits freely and peaceably belonging thereto, without revocation and contradiction. Moreover because it has been certified to us that the castle of St Andrews, the

ancient residence of the archbishops, is wholly destroyed, and because it is expedient that there should be built a suitable habitation for their use; therefore, whenever it shall be found that the income of the said priory shall exceed 10,000 marks yearly, a sufficient house for their residence shall be constructed: Also, the under-mentioned sums, for a more suitable provision and present subsidy for the three colleges of St Andrews, are to be uplifted from the surplus revenues of the said priory, viz., £50 sterling for the use of the principal of St Leonard's, £20 sterling for the use of the provost of the old college, and £60 sterling for the use of the theological professors of the new college, which last shall be proportioned according to the judgment of the said archbishop; with this condition, that the rents of the said archbishopric and priory shall be charged with the same, only until we, or our parliament, supply a more fit subsidy and provision for the three said colleges, and no longer.¹ Therefore we, for these and other reasons of moment, declare for ourselves and successors, our present charter of donation and mortification to be free from the provision of rebuilding the cathedral church of St Andrews in the manner specified in the aforesaid charter of mortification: concerning which we, for ourselves and successors, have dispensed, and do hereby dispense, as if no such clause existed in the said mortification, until we determine upon a more fit and convenient method of rebuilding the same.² And we have declared, and do hereby declare, all donations granted by us or our dear father, to any person or persons out of the said priory, with the privileges and benefices thereto pertaining, to be null and void, as if they never had been granted or conceded. We ordain, also, these our present letters to be ratified at the next session of our parliament in Scotland, and its sanction to be given to the same. We enjoin, moreover, that the other letters of our royal council and session be issued by simple mandate, within at least ten days, at the instance of the said James, now archbishop of St Andrews, for the ready obedience and payment to him, or his factors and chamberlains in his name, of all and single rectorial and vicarial

¹ Charles I., after the overthrow of the Church in Scotland, had consented (with a view, if possible, to conciliate his Scottish subjects) to the transference of the greater part of the revenue of the archbishopric and priory of St Andrews to its university; but now, when the whole was restored to its legitimate destination, it was burdened for a time only with the above sums as a compensation to the parties mentioned.

² In Spotswood's charter it had been stipulated that all the revenue of the priory above 10,000 marks, should be applied to building and repairing the cathedral church of St Andrews, until the same were finished, "and serving the cure thereof, according to the custom observed in other cathedral churches."

tiends, farms, feu-farms, &c., and all profits and rates whatever, annexed to the said archbishopric of St Andrews, as also to the priory of St Andrews spiritually and temporally, from the crop of the year 1661; and, in like manner, of all years in time coming, during his life: and for the rendering to him, or to others in his name, all castles, fortresses, towers, manors, mansions, &c., (as above,) and all other things pertaining to the said archbishopric and priory of St Andrews. And we command that the annexed charter, granted by our dear father of glorious memory to the late archbishop of St Andrews, be ratified in our next parliament, and, if need be, be disjoined and separated from our crown. In testimony of which, we have commanded our great seal to be affixed to these presents, at our hall of Whitehall, on the 14th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1661, and of our reign the thirteenth.¹

No. L.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNT-BOOK OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP,
A.D. 1663-1666.

This book was kept in the handwriting of the archbishop's secretary and constant companion, Mr George Martine of Claremont, author of the "*Reliquiæ Divi Andree*." The original, which I have seen, has been recently printed by the Maitland Club of Glasgow. It is written in a very neat and distinct hand, and gives a most minute statement of all the primate's personal, travelling, and household expenses, from 1663 till 1666. In it are included a journey to and from London in 1664, and a residence of several months there; several journeys between Edinburgh and St Andrews; and various receipts and disbursements at St Andrews itself. It is to the last of these that I have chiefly confined myself in the following extracts. The archbishop, it will appear, was very charitable to the poor.

1663.

From Edinburgh to St Androis, Sept. 11th.

	£	s.	d.
To my Lord Glasgowe's coachman and footman for the coach to Leith,	001	16	00

¹ Translated from the original.

	£	s.	d.
To the poore at Edinburgh and going to the boat,	000	06	00
For Ralph and the 2 geldings' fraught to Kinghorne,	001	04	00
12.—For my Lord quarter that night and nixt morneing, and for aill to the workmen about the coach conforme to accompt,	005	04	04
To poor at Kinghorne at several tymes,	000	03	00

Journey from St Androis to Edinburgh, Sept. 21.

To the poor at my Lord's lodgeing,	000	12	00
For super at Leith with the Bishops of Aberdeine, Caithnes, conform to ane accompt of particulars,	005	18	00
For ane hakney coatche frome Leith to Edinburgh, being late and dark,	002	08	00

Journey from Edinr. to St Androis, 15th Oct.

To Helen the work lasse,	002	18	00
For a cart to Leith with two barellis of buttur and the graith,	000	12	00
To the poore at Leith,	000	06	00
For 2 horseses frome Edinburgh to Leith for James Veillie and Mr George	000	12	00
To my Lord Glasgowes coachman and footman at my Lordis direction,	002	08	00
Payed custoun at the Netherbow, Leith, and Kinghorn,	000	06	00
23.—For horse from Leith to Edinburgh in a great rayne,	000	08	00
For allowance to Mr George in his six dayes absence,	005	08	00
Nov. 3d.—When my Lord went to Falkland to a guyd be the way,	000	06	00
For corne and strae to the 4 coach horses ther,	000	18	00
For corne and strae to the 2 sadill horses,	000	08	00
To divers poore people in Falkland,	000	04	00
To drink-money at Mr Williame Barclay his house,	001	10	00
To the poore people at Falkland ane other tyme,	000	06	00

Journey from St Androis to Edinr.

Oct. 9.—To many poore at my Lordis gaittis,	000	12	00
For William Bruce chairgis attending the clobbagis for his breakfast and denner at Brintyland with the bagag	000	10	00

Moneyes Debursit at my Lord's Directions.

	£	s.	d.
Augt. 7.—To the toune drummer at St Androis, at my lord's direction,	000	12	00
Sepr. 11th.—To the poore men,	000	04	00
23.—To my Lord Chancellor's porter,	000	12	00
Oct. 2.—To my Lord Belheaven's mane, that brought turkies and doves to my lord,	002	08	00
To Mr Patrick Weymes' widdowe, 2 dollors,	005	16	00
To a distressed widdow, at my lordis ordour,	002	18	00
28.—To my lord, for the first collectione in the Synod,	001	09	00
26.—To John Fraser, messenger, being sent to intimat to 4 ministers the Synodis sentence of depositioun and suspensioun against them,	005	16	00
Nov. 6.—To Mr George Ogilvie's man that brought fische,	000	18	00
To the footman Wattie, when he was sent to St Johnstoune,	000	12	00
7.—To a poor man Traill, and a lame shouldiour,	000	09	00
Given to my Ladie to compleit all bygane accompts of the hous,	107	08	04
To Catherine Moncrieff, conforme to hir discharge,	050	00	00
14.—To my Lord to give James Crose, who presentit ane almanack dedicat to my Lord,	002	18	00

Necessaries for my Lord, and uther Debursments.

Aug. 15.—For a paire of Shiverines to my Lord, and drink money to the boy,	001	18	00
29.—To the barbour for trimeing my Lord,	000	18	00
28.—For ribbanes to my Lord shoes,	000	09	00
Oct. 3.—For 2 ellis of creap, for a murneing string, when the Bishop of Orknay died, at 2½ 13s. the ell is,	005	06	00
For a pair of black shambo gloves to my Lord,	001	16	00
For 6 quarteris of black silk coard to my Lord's hatt,	000	05	00
11.—For two linkis at the Laird of Grantis buriall,	000	12	00
14.—For a bybill to William Sharpe,	004	10	00
For six quarteris of black ribbanes to my Lord,	000	08	00
15.—For a link to wait on the coach to the abbay,	000	06	00
Nov. 11.—For two linkis at my Lord Glasgowes buriall,	000	12	00
The compt of the money given to the poore in smailis, thir 3 monthes bygane, comes in hail to	010	19	08
To a poore shouldour at the Abbay church doore,	000	06	00

	£	s.	d.
To the poore people at the Abbay church, on both sydes of the coatche,	000	04	00
To poore people at severall tymes, at the hous and abroad, at the coatche, theis ten dayes bygane, .	001	02	00
Nov.—Payed to ane apothecarie at St Andrews, for some oyllis and drougis to the coatch horse, .	001	08	00

1664.

March 16.—St Androis—to Lisbet Scharpis nurse, .	000	12	00
For a pocket inkhorne for William Sharpe, .	000	05	00
23.—To the Laird of Lesmores mane that brought murefoullis,	002	08	00
To William Sharpe to pay for candle in the coledge, .	002	18	00
30.—To my Lord Cassillis mane that brought letters, .	000	06	00
To the messenger for executing the letters against Mr John Carstares and utheris, first and last, .	004	19	00
31.—To my Lord Rothes man with letters, .	001	04	00
28.—To David Irving, a poor shouldiour, .	000	04	00
To the Commissar of St Androis, his nurse, .	002	18	00
To bringing over my Ladies new pad, . .	000	16	00
For sex new bees scapis at 8s. the piece, . .	002	08	00
May 4.—To William Sharpe for a pair of arrowes, .	000	10	00
For a glove and a brace,	000	14	00
For a bow string,	000	03	00
To my Lord Newarkis mane for letters from Edinburgh,	000	12	00
To Katherineine Moncrief for hir annual rent fra Martymes 1663 to Whitsunday 1664 inde, . .	050	00	00
16.—To the Laird of Sandfurd's nurse, . .	005	16	00
18.—To the Earle of Rothes coatchman 1 Dollar, to postillian, $\frac{1}{2}$,	004	07	00
26.—To a harper, at his grace's direction, .	002	08	00
For a quare of cutt paper,	000	06	00
27.—To my Ladie, to give William Sharpis regent, 5 Dollaris,	071	10	00
To the Ladie to give a Craill boy to help his pack, .	000	18	00
To the Lord Theasurares porter,	001	10	00
July 4.—To the Dean of Edinburgh's mane who brought cherries,	000	12	00
26.—To Garnetullis man that brought murefoullis, .	000	18	00
Aug. 9.—To my Lord Loures man that brought fruit, .	001	09	00

	£	s.	d.
13.—To Cathrein Sharpes nurses for ane yeires sic,	036	00	00
To my Lord Carnegis cook at Leeuhares, . . .	000	12	00

From St Androis to Edinr., Decr. 13.

For foure horses to Edinburgh, and to the hyror,	001	10	00
For a horse hyre to Balcarras for Mr Gilbert Burnet,	000	12	00

Accompt of money given to his Grace.

Oct. 30.—To his grace, being sabboth, . . .	001	10	00
Dec. 8.—To his lordship, the day Margaret Sharpe was borne, 10 dollars, . . .	029	00	00
For a Virgall to William Sharpe, and for glasping it,	000	16	00
12.—To the poore, the day of Margaret Sharpes christeneing, . . .	002	14	00
For a quart of wyne the day of her christeneing,	002	00	00
23.—For a veale, . . .	003	06	00
For a sheepe, . . .	002	00	00
For a paire of murefoulis, . . .	000	10	00

Nov. 5.—Chairgis of the Bonesyre.

For eight load of coalis 10 s the load, . . .	004	00	00
For other eight load of coalis, at 9 s the load, . . .	003	12	00
For a tar barrell, and setting on the fyre, . . .	000	18	00
For 3 linkis within this 4 dayis, . . .	000	18	00

Accompt of Moneyies resaived be Mr George Martine for my Lord Archbishop of St Androis his graces use, from Januar first, 1666, till end.

15. Jan.—Frome Thomas Glover for the Laird of Aytoun's compositione of Burneturk, . . .	150	00	00
18.—Mair frome him which at his first entrie he received from Alexander Forrester, for which gave a ticket, . . .	266	13	04
Frome John Pattone to ane accompt, and in pairt of payment of the bygane few-deuties of the parroche of Muckart, . . .	082	16	00
Feb. 13.—Receaved frome Johnne Robertson, being pairt of his intromissione with your gracies rentis be South Forth, . . .	336	00	00
Feb. 28.—Frome Johnne Robertstone, . . .	144	00	00
Mar. 6.—Mair from him, . . .	503	00	00
30.—Frome Thomas Glover in St Androis, . . .	429	00	00

	£	s.	d.
31.—Frome Dr Moir for his compositione at his entrie to the Kirktoone of Dyce,	133	06	08
Apryll 3.—Frome James Watsons, townes' clerk of St Androis to ane accompt of the few, and 5 merkis on the Prior akeris,	333	06	08
Mair frome Thomas Glover the same day,	153	06	08
25.—Frome Alexander Cunynghame as Rimornies compositione for his tak of tithes,	200	00	00
26.—Frome the commissar of St A. of Quot Money,	635	16	08
27.—Frome Mr Jolly, when he borrowed of your grace vpone tuo severalle nots now reteired,	107	00	00

Accompt of Moneyis Disbursed for necessities.

For a chopen of cynamon watter sent to St Androis,	004	16	00
For Ovid's Workis in on volume,	003	00	00
For Buchannon's Nomenclature to William Sharpe,	000	06	00
For a book to wryte the Inventare of the wrytis of Scots-craig,	001	14	00
For 2 ellis $\frac{1}{2}$ half of holland hair stuff, for a coat to William Sharpe, at 4 lib. 10 s the ell is,	011	05	00
For a hatt to your grace, and another to William Sharpe,	036	00	00
For a pair of new shoes to your grace, and in drink money,	003	06	00
For Buxtorf's Hebrew Grammar, }	001	08	00
For ane Hebrew Psalme Book, }			
The accompt of the sweet meatis carried over to St A. in Feb. last extends to the soum of,	047	16	00

Note.—The first money column contains *pounds* Scots, one of which is equal to 20 pennies sterling.

The second column contains *shillings* Scots, one of which is equal to 1 penny sterling.

The third column contains *pennies* Scots, one of which is equal to 1-12th of a penny sterling.

No. LI.

LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM SHARP THE ARCHBISHOP'S SON, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS FATHER'S MURDER, TO SIR JAMES BAIRD AT BANFF, A.D. 1679.

"HONOURED SIR,—This horrid and stupendous murder has so confounded me, that I am not able to give a suitable return to your excellent and kind letter. What I have learnt of that execrable deed is, that, on Friday the 2d of this month, my worthy father crossed the water, lay at Kennoway all night, and next morning set out for St Andrews. Being two miles off, twenty-seven of those villainous regicides had a full view of the coach; and not finding the opportunity, divided into three parties, which took up the three ways he could take homewards. Nine of them assaulted the coach within two miles of this place, by discharging their pistols and securing his servants. The coachman drove on for half-a-mile, until one of his horses was wounded in three places, and the postilion wounded in the hand. Then they fired several shot at the coach, and commanded my dearest father to come out, which he said he would. When he had come out, (not being yet wounded,) he said, Gentlemen, I beg my life.—'No! bloody villain, betrayer of the cause of Christ, no mercy!'—Then said he, I ask none for myself, but have mercy on my poor child, [his eldest daughter was in the coach with him;] and holding out his hand to one of them, to get his, that he would spare his child, he cut him in the wrist. Then falling down upon his knees, and holding up his hands, he prayed that God would forgive them; and begging mercy for his sins from his Saviour,¹ they murdered him, by sixteen great wounds in his back, head, and one above his left eye, three in his left hand, when he was holding it up, with a shot above his right breast, which was found to be powder. After this damnable deed, they took the papers out of his pocket, robbed my sister and their servants of all their papers, gold, and money; and one of these hellish rascals cut my sister in the thumb when she had him by the bridle begging her father's life. God of his infinite mercy support this poor family under this dreadful and unsupportable case, and give us to know why God is thus angry with us, and earnestly beg not to consume us in his wrath, but now that his anger may cease, and he may be at peace with us through the blood of a reconciled Saviour; and also may have pity upon this poor distressed church,

¹ Wodrow says, that he shrieked for mercy; but when told to pray, refused!

and that he may be the last sacrifice for it, as he is the first Protestant martyr bishop in such a way.

“Dear Sir, as my worthy father had alway a kindness and particular esteem for yourself, son, and family, so I hope you will be friendly to his son, who shall ever continue, worthy Sir, your most faithful, &c., &c.,

“W. SHARP.

“St Andrews, 10th May, 1679,

“half-an-hour after receipt of yours.

“On Saturday next is the funeral.”¹

No. LII.

ORDER OF THE FUNERAL OF HIS GRACE JAMES SHARP, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS AND PRIMATE OF SCOTLAND, AS IT WAS PERFORMED AT ST ANDREWS ON SATURDAY THE 17TH MAY, 1679, THE PROCESSION MOVING FROM THE ABBEY² TO THE TOWN CHURCH.

Sixty-one old men, corresponding to the years of the defunct's age, each in mourning hoods and cloaks, and bearing on staves the arms of the archiepiscopal see, impaled with those of the defunct, one preceding and bearing a little gumphion,³ the rest following two and two.

The horse of state, equipped in furniture as for the riding of parliament, led by footmen in his grace's livery.

Two close trumpets with mourning banners.

A horse in mourning, led by footmen in mourning.

The great gumphion borne on a lance.

The great mourning pencil⁴ borne by Sir John Strachan.

The defunct's servants, and those of the nobility and gentry in mourning.

The magistrates of St Andrews.

The magistrates of the other royal boroughs.

The magistrates of Edinburgh.

Professors of the University of St Andrews.

Clergymen of the diocese.

¹ C. K. Sharpe's Edition of Kirkton, p. 483.

² The Archbishop's residence was the *Novum Hospitium* within the walls of the priory.

³ From the old French word *gonfalon*, a banner.

⁴ I suppose from the French *pennonceau*, a small pennon.

Doctors, and other dignitaries in the church.

The rector of the University, ushered by three macers.

Gentlemen and knights, two and two.

The Lords of Session, ushered by their four ordinary maces.

The nobility according to their rank, two and two.

Two close trumpets.

A mourning standard borne by Sharp of Houston.

Four coats of arms, two paternal, and two maternal, borne each after the other.

The great mourning banner, borne by Cunningham of Barnes.

His Grace's physician, secretary, and chaplain.

Six pursuivants in their coats, two and two.

Six heralds in their coats, two and two;

The first bearing, on an antique shield, the arms of the see and of the defunct impaled; the second, that of the see; the third, the crosier; the fourth, the scarf; the fifth, the gown; the sixth and eldest, the mitre on a velvet cushion.

The Lord Lyon king-at-arms, in his coat.

The Lord High Chancellor,

preceded by the purse and great mace.

THE COFFIN.

Master of Privy Council.	{	Adorned with escutcheons of the defunct's arms impaled with those of the see, and with a mitre placed on a velvet cushion, fringed and tasselled with gold, and covered with crape.	}	Master of Privy Council.
		Chief mourners, Sir William Sharp of Scotsraig, the deceased's only son, and Sir William Sharp of Stonie Hill, the deceased's brother.		

Over the coffin,

A canopy adorned with a mitre, with small escutcheons, mort heads and cyphers, borne by six moderators of presbyteries.

The archbishop of Glasgow, and all the bishops of Scotland.

The bloody gown in which his Grace was slain, borne by the chaplain of his household.

The coach out of which he was taken and murdered, with the coachman, horses, and postillions, all in deep mourning.

A troop of guards.

The church all in mourning; the pulpit, and before it a table covered with black velvet, on which the coffin was placed.

The funeral sermon preached by John bishop of Edinburgh.

The body laid in the grave with the sound of open trumpets. Over the grave a canopy erected, covered with black cloth, and adorned with the gumphion, standards, banners, &c., which had been carried in the procession.

No. LIII.

DECLARATION OF CHARLES II. IN FAVOUR OF THE ARCHBISHOPS
OF ST ANDREWS AND GLASGOW, RELATIVE TO THE PRESENTA-
TION OF CROWN BENEFICES, A.D. 1679.

“Whereas, out of our pious and princely care to have persons of sound and orthodox principles, and of exemplary lives and conversations, employed in the ministry of the church in our ancient kingdom of Scotland, wee were in use, for many years past, to dispose of such presentations of churches in that our kingdom as are in our royall grant, by the advices and recommendations of the Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, respectively, as any vacancies of churches happened within either of their provinces; whereof wee have seen so good and acceptable effects, that we are still graciously resolved to follow the same method for the future; and therefore wee have thought fit hereby to declare, it is our will and pleasure, that when, at any time hereafter, there shall happen a vacancy of any church at our presentation, in either of the provinces of St Andrews or Glasgow, the archbishop of the province (for the time-being) within which such vacancy shall happen, may, and he is hereby authorized to recommend unto us a fit and qualified person to be presented by us thereto; for wee are sufficiently convinced, that this method will tend very much to the glory of God and the good of our service in that church; and wee doubt not but the said archbishops will take speciall care to recommend such persons unto us from time to time as are known to be of orthodox and sound principles in the matters of our government, both in church and state, as it is now established by law, and of pious and exemplary lives and conversations, as well as endued with other parts and qualifications fit for the faithful and effectuall discharge of their duties in the ministry. Given under our royall hand and signett, at our Court at Windsor Castle, the 13th day of August, 1679, and of our reigne the thirty-first year, By his ma^{ty} command.

(Signed) “LAUDERDALE.”

No. LIV.

ACCOUNT OF AN APPARITION WHICH WAS SAID TO HAVE BEEN SEEN
IN THE HOUSE OF ARCHBISHOP ROSS, DESCRIBED IN A LETTER TO
THE REV. JOHN WARDEN, AND BY HIM COMMUNICATED TO THE
REV. ROBERT WODROW.¹

“Alloa, 14th January 1718.

“REV. SIR,—I mind some time ago, I had the occasion to converse with you anent sume thing which fell out in that house in St Andrews, where Bishop Ross lodged, which is as followeth :—

“Andrew Berrage, my wife’s brother, principell servant at that time to the bishop, a young man who was verie apt to crush anie surmise of aperitions befor that time. Andrew Berrage told me and his sister, that there is a chamber in that lodging possest then by the bishop ; that neither family nor stranger lay in that roome, by reason of ane ould suspition of aperitions that frequented that roome. It fell out, there comes so many strangers one day, that all the other roomes was taken up with the strangers except that suspected roome. My brother-in-law, indeavoring to banish such a Himera (as he called it) out of the family, prevails with the paige, a young lad, that both should ly together in that roome ; and accordingly set on a good fire in the chamber, the bed being neere to the middle of the roome. My brother-in-law lies down with his face towards the dore, the paige with his back to his, which obliged the one to loke to one end of the chamber, and the other to the other end of the chamber.

“About the middle of the night [comes] ane aperition of the coachman at the entrie of the chamber where my brother’s face was pointing ; at the same time, the postiline appears at the other end of the chamber. My brother and the paige being both awake the coachman advances towards my brother in the foreside of the bed ;

¹ Mr Wodrow was fond of collecting idle gossip of this kind from all quarters, on which he often founded the gravest accusations against those to whom he bore an antipathy. The house here said to be haunted, had been previously occupied by Archbishops Spotswood and Sharp ; but a more clumsy or worse described apparition, it is difficult to conceive. If Andrew the servant could not describe accurately, his brother-in-law the clergyman might at least have written intelligibly and grammatically, which he has scarcely done. From a comparison of dates it will be seen that the narrative must have been written at least thirty years after the event occurred. Archbishop Ross was deprived in 1688, and died in 1704.

my brother fals a scowlding of the coachman, calling him drunken rascall, questioning him why he was not in bed ere this time ; the aperition still advances towards him till it comes closs to the bed, and the other aperition in the back side of the bed advances towards the paige ; the paige all the time smyling at my brother taking, as he thought, all the time, the coachman for the postiline that advanced towards him. My brother-in-law riseth on his elbow, and swears he would ding the devill out of the coachman, and thrusts at him with a full stroake, till he seeth his arme through the aperition, and his hand on the other side of him. After the thrust at the aperition, the coachman and postiline each of them went back to each end of the roome and disappeared like smoak. Then, he said, instead of cursing, he fell a praying ; then tutches the paige, asking if he was waking, who answered, 'Yes.'—'Saw yon the coachman?' said hee ; who answered, 'I saw the postiline.'

"After some conference betwixt them, they fand that their backs being towards other in the bed, and accordingly their faces looking to each end of the chamber, declaired to each other what they saw as above. They instantly arose and sat at the fire till the morning, taking wan another ingaged not to devilge what they saw, for frightening the rest of the servants.

"However, the secret breaks out, and comes to Bishop Ross his ears, who industeruslie laboured to desuad his servants, and for proof thereof he would ly in that chamber alon. His servant sayes to him, in a joking manner, 'My Lord, allow me to be in the chamber below your Lordship.' The fire is put on, candels placed on the table, and in a little time his Lordship goes to bed. My brother and paige sets up in the roome below him. About the middle of the night, the Bishop comes down stairs with all sped possible, and thought it convenient to bring no thing with him but his shirt, barefooted, calling for his servants ; but what he saw he would reveall it to non.

"Sir, this is the reall account my wife and I had from her brother's mouth ; and next to seeing it myself, I could confirme it no better.

"My dewtiful service to you, your wife and family. Your ain,

"THO. HARLAW."¹

¹ "Private Letters" addressed to Mr Wodrow, p. 18, Advocates' Library, printed but not published.

No. LV.

PUNISHMENT OF SACRILEGE WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF ST ANDREWS.

The following examples, selected from the diocese of St Andrews, according to its boundaries before the Reformation, will corroborate the general doctrine contended for throughout this work, that sacrilege has ever been punished in the present life, and *chiefly* by the failure of male issue. It is, however, not easy to ascertain the numerous families and individuals to whom the church lands, or portions of them, were granted, at or after the Reformation. What I am about to state, therefore, though accurate, I have reason to believe, as far as it goes, is by no means so complete as I could have wished to make it; but it may, perhaps, suggest an interesting subject of inquiry to some one more competent for the undertaking. My chief authorities have been the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, and Wood's edition of Douglas's Peerage.

I know that, in this sceptical age, or "enlightened," as some consider it, many will refuse to subscribe to the doctrine I contend for. They will allege that failures of male issue have happened, and do constantly happen, to families who have not been contaminated with sacrilege. No doubt this is true; but I believe that a very great difference will be found in this respect; and that what is the *rule* in the one case, is the *exception* in the other. But not to enter on this inquiry here, I will content myself with quoting Sir Henry Spelman on sacrilege, who tells us (chap. viii.) that, in the year 1616, he described a circle on the map of Norfolk, which comprehended a given number of gentlemen's seats, and the lands of as many dissolved religious houses. The succession in the former had continued uninterruptedly for many generations; whereas the latter had changed owners, "four, five, or six times, not only by fall of issue, or ordinary sale, but very often by grievous accidents and misfortunes." But be this as it may, the facts I have adduced are curious on their own account, and well deserving of attention, and can scarcely fail to furnish matter for reflection.

I have one more preliminary remark to make. Even they who first obtained the church lands had seldom much enjoyment from them. Their revenues generally arose from various detached properties, remote from each other, which it was both difficult and expensive to collect. Many of the smaller rents they could not collect at all, owing to the disorder of the times, or the unwillingness of the lessee to pay to an unknown and perhaps rigid layman, what he had been always accustomed to pay to a liberal and indul-

gent monastery. And out of this reduced revenue, pensions had often to be paid to certain court favourites, who had had interest previously to secure them. See Appendix VI., p. 269. Thus it happened, that what was thought at first to be a valuable prize, turned out in the end to be rather a source of inquietude and disappointment than of substantial benefit. This was the first punishment of sacrilege. I would remark, farther, that the inference I deduce by no means involves a defence of papal abuses, but merely, that what has been solemnly granted to God cannot be taken away from Him without sin and punishment. I now proceed to establish this general doctrine.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ST ANDREWS. After the death of the last Roman Catholic archbishop, (Hamilton,) the Earl of Morton obtained the temporalities of the see. He suffered a violent death, and left no issue. Next to him succeeded Ludovick, second duke of Lennox, who was married three times, but had no children.

PRIORY OF ST ANDREWS.—The Lord James Stewart was the last prior under the old system. He changed with the times, and applied a large portion of the revenues of the priories of St Andrews and Pittenweem to his own use. He was shot at Linlithgow in 1571, leaving no male issue. The next commendator was Robert Stewart, brother of the Earl of Lennox, who died in 1586 without offspring. Next to him, was his nephew, Ludovick duke of Lennox, whose childless fate we have mentioned above. The priory property then passed to his brother, Esme third duke of Lennox, whose grandson and heir died unmarried in 1660.

PORTMOAK. (An Augustinian priory on Lochleven, a dependency on St Andrews.)—The well-known John Wynram was made commendator. In his old age, having no children, though married, he made it over to St Leonard's college, on the condition of drawing the income during his life.

DUNFERMLINE. (A Benedictine abbey in Fife.)—The commendator at the Reformation, was Secretary Pitcairn, also Archdeacon of St Andrews, who married, and secured his church property. He was denounced rebel, and banished for the part he took in the "Raid of Ruthven." The next person who obtained the revenues, was Patrick master of Gray, who was banished in 1587. His son, Andrew, was also banished; and left no surviving male issue. George the sixth earl of Huntly, was the next who got the abbacy. His son was executed at Edinburgh, and *his* son killed at the battle of Alford in 1645, leaving no family. Alexander Seton lord Fyvie, president of the Court of Session, was created Earl of Dunfermline by James VI. in 1605. He only got

part of the temporalities ; but he was commendator, besides, of the rich abbey of Pluscardine, in Morayshire. He was married three times, and had only one son, whose grand-nephew and heir was forfeited, and died childless. The other individual who shared the temporalities with the Earl of Dunfermline, was no less a personage than the queen of James VI., the fate of whose son Charles, (who by the way was born in the abbey,) and daughter Elizabeth, and grandson James, and posterity, need not be told by me.

COUPAR. (A Cistercian abbey in Angus.)—Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, second son of Lord Glamis, got the church and tithes of Nether-Airley, which had belonged to this abbey, on the forfeiture of a former commendator, one Leonard Leslie, of whom I know nothing. This Sir Thomas had also some monks' portions from the abbey lands of Arbroath. He had only one son, who married a daughter of Gladstones archbishop of St Andrews, and died without issue. James VI. in 1607, made James, the second son of Secretary Elphinston, Lord Coupar, with the temporalities of the abbey. He married twice, but died in 1669, without issue. The property was then given to his nephew, John lord Balmerino, of whose family see below.

BALMERINO. (A Cistercian abbey in Fife.)—John Hay, master of requests to Queen Mary, obtained from her this abbey in 1565. I have not been able to trace his future history ; but I presume the abbey passed to the crown under the "annexation act" of 1587 ; for in 1603 it was given to Sir James Elphinston, who was created Lord Balmerino. He died soon after of a broken heart, or something worse, (*Staggering State*, p. 61.) His descendant, Arthur, was beheaded in 1746, in whom the line became extinct.

PITTENWEEM. (An Augustinian priory in Fife.)—The Lord James Stewart was commendator at the Reformation, whose fate we have seen. Before his death, he gave it to Sir James Balfour, governor of Edinburgh castle, as the condition of receiving over that fortress from him. Another of the conditions was, that Sir James's son, (afterwards Lord Burghley,) should enjoy for himself and his heirs, a pension out of the priory of St Andrews. This Lord Burghley got also the church lands of Cupar-Angus, before they were granted to the son of Secretary Elphinston, as above. He left only one daughter. Next I find this abbey is ratified to Captain William Stewart in 1585. Frederick Stewart, his son, was created Lord Pittenweem in 1609 ; but dying without issue, the title and family became extinct.

LINDORES. (A Tyronensian abbey in Fife.)—The last Roman Catholic abbot was the celebrated John Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross. It is probable that, owing to his fidelity to Queen Mary,

he was permitted to retain his abbacy, or a portion of its rents, till his death in 1596. In the year 1600, it was bestowed on Sir Patrick Lesley, second son of the Earl of Rothes, who was made Lord Lindores. Sir James Balfour, in his "Annals," 12th August 1649, says of this Lord: "On Sunday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, died Patrick lord Lindores. He was never married; but had *sixty-seven* base children, sons and daughters." His brother, James, succeeded him, whose grandson, David, died childless.

INCHCOLM. (An Augustinian priory in the Firth of Forth.)—In 1581, the grant of this abbey is ratified to Henry Stewart son of Sir James Stewart of Doune. In 1611, James VI. made him Lord St Colme. He had only one son, who entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and died without children.

CULROSS. (A Cistercian abbey on the Forth.)—Alexander Colville is commendator in 1584. His son John succeeded, who resigned in favour of his nephew Sir James Colville, who was made Lord Culross in 1609. His grandson James, second Lord Colville, died without issue in 1640.

ARBROATH. (A Tyronensian abbey in Angus.)—Lord John Hamilton, second son of the Earl of Arran, was made Lord Arbroath at the Reformation. His grandson James (afterwards Duke of Hamilton) was executed in London in 1649, leaving no surviving son. Lord Claud Hamilton got the abbacy, on the resignation of his brother the above Lord John. He had also got the abbey of Paisley, on the resignation of his uncle the Archbishop of St Andrews. In 1579, he and Lord John were forfeited and banished. William Erskine, one of the Mar family, next got the abbacy, who was forfeited for his concern in the Raid of Ruthven in 1584; after which, Lord Claud was received into favour, restored, and made Lord Paisley by James VI. His grandson James (second earl of Abercorn) had three sons, who all died without male issue. According to Keith, the first earl of Dysart next obtained the property, who sold it, together with the patronage of thirty-four churches, to Mr Maule of Panmure. This earl left no male issue.

SCONE. (An Augustinian monastery near Perth.)—Provost Halyburton of Dundee had a pension out of this abbey, as a reward for his reforming zeal, (vol. i. p. 329;) but I have not been able to trace the fate of his progeny, if he had any. James VI. made the Earl of Gowrie commendator of Scone, who was attainted and executed in 1584. Next, Sir David Murray obtained the title and lands in 1605, with a substitution, failing himself and his heirs, of different relations of the family and their heirs. Sir David died without issue. Sir Mungo Murray succeeded him, and died without issue. James Murray, second earl of Annandale, succeeded, and

died without issue. The title and lands then went to William Murray of Letterbannathy, who is the ancestor of the present proprietor.

LANDS OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM.—Sir James Sandilands, their preceptor for Scotland, joined the Reformation, obtained their estates, and was made Lord Torphichen. Leaving no issue, the title and property devolved on his grand-nephew, James Sandilands of Calder, whose only son, the third lord, died unmarried.

ELCHO. (A Cistercian nunnery in Strathern.)—Sir John Wemyss was made Lord Wemyss of Elcho in 1628. His only son David was married three times, but left no surviving male issue.

INCHAFFRAY. (An Augustinian abbey in Strathern.)—The commendator at the Reformation was the Bishop of Galloway, who, like some of the other prelates of the period, changed with the times, from no other motive than to keep his church preferment. He died in 1579, leaving three sons, none of whom had any male issue. We next find Alexander Ruthven commendator, who was killed in the conspiracy at Gowrie in 1600. James VI. then made James Drummond, second son of Lord Drummond, commendator, with the title of Lord Maderty. The direct line failed in his grandson, who left no surviving male issue.

HOLYROODHOUSE. (An Augustinian abbey in Edinburgh.)—Lord Robert Stewart, natural son of James V., was abbot at the Reformation. He joined the Reformers, married, and retained his temporalities. He exchanged his abbacy of Holyroodhouse with Bothwell bishop of Orkney (also a love-lucre reformer) for the latter's diocesan lands and revenues, and was created Earl of Orkney by Queen Mary. His eldest son Patrick was forfeited, and executed at Edinburgh in 1614, leaving no issue. John Bothwell, the son of the bishop, became Lord Holyroodhouse in 1581. He left one son, who died unmarried. The title and lands then went to another son of the bishop's, whose line also soon became extinct.

KELSO. (A Tyronensian abbey in Teviotdale.)—On the death of James Stewart, in 1558, eldest natural son of James V. who was abbot of this monastery, the queen-regent bestowed its temporalities, with those of Melrose, on her brother the cardinal of Guise; but it is doubtful if he ever drew any of them. Queen Mary next gave these two abbacies to her husband Bothwell. He was outlawed, forfeited, and died childless in Denmark in 1577. In 1587, we find Sir John (afterwards Lord) Maitland of Thiristane commendator. He was succeeded by his son John, second Lord Thiristane, father of the well-known Duke of Lauderdale, who left no male issue. One who obtained a portion of the Kelso property, was Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, afterwards Earl of Roxburgh. He also

shared largely in the spoils of Holyroodhouse. His only surviving son, Hary, left four daughters, but no son.

HADDINGTON. (A Cistercian nunnery in that town.)—Sir William Maitland of Lethington had some of these lands, which were subsequently taken from him on a charge of treason. He married twice, and had only one son, who died childless. James VI. next gave the lands to Sir John Ramsay in 1606, and created him Lord Haddington. He married twice, but left no surviving issue. In 1621, they were bestowed on the second Lord Thirlstane, whose line ended with his son, as mentioned above.

MELROSE. (A Cistercian abbey in Teviotdale.)—Queen Mary gave the revenues to her husband Bothwell, whose fate has been already mentioned. Sir William Maitland of Lethington came in for a share of these lands, whose destiny we have noticed. In 1592, Archibald son of "James Douglas commendator of Melrose," gets six monks' portions from the same; but I have learnt nothing farther, either of him or his father. Afterwards, Sir John Ramsay was made Lord Melrose in 1609, *cum* Haddington, whose childless fate we have just seen. Finally, Sir Thomas Hamilton was made Earl of Melrose in 1619. His eldest son, Thomas, was blown up by gunpowder in 1640; and *his* only son died without issue.

Tweeddale

COLDSTREAM. (A Cistercian nunnery on the Tweed.)—In 1621, this was erected into a temporal barony in favour of Sir John Hamilton, third son of Thomas earl of Melrose. He had only one son, who died without issue.

JEDBURGH. (An Augustinian abbey in Teviotdale.)—One Andrew, commendator in 1593, complains that, owing to the number of monks' portions that had been granted to private persons, he had little or nothing left for himself. This Andrew had also Restennot; but who he was, or what became of him, I have not learnt. In 1606, Jedburgh and Coldingham were erected into a lordship in favour of Alexander earl Home. His only son, James, was twice married, but had no issue. James VI. next made Sir Andrew Ker of Fernihurst, Lord Jedburgh in 1622. He died without issue, as did his brother who succeeded him.

RESTENNOT. (An Augustinian priory in Angus, a dependency on Jedburgh.)—This was given, in 1606, to Viscount Fenton, afterwards Earl of Kelly. His only son, Thomas, died without male issue.

DRYBURGH AND CAMBUSKENNETH. (The first a Præmonstratensian abbey on the Tweed, the second an Augustinian abbey on the Forth.)—John the sixth earl of Mar, was the first lay commendator of these two abbeys after the Reformation. He became regent, and died in 1572, "not without suspicion of poison." David Erskine was then made commendator of Dryburgh, and Adam

Erskine his cousin, commendator of Cambuskenneth. They were both forfeited and banished in 1584, for their concern in the Raid of Ruthven. The abbeys were then annexed to the crown. Part of Dryburgh was afterwards granted to Hugh lord Sommerville, whose son Gilbert died without leaving any surviving son. But the greater part of both abbeys was, in 1606, erected into the temporal lordship of Cardross, in favour of a son of the seventh Earl of Mar. This line, I believe, has gone on.

COLDINGHAM. (A Benedictine abbey in Berwickshire.)—Lord John Stewart, natural son of James V., was prior of Coldingham at the Reformation. Like his two brothers, he changed with the times, kept his temporalities, and married. His eldest son, Francis, was created Earl of Bothwell, but was outlawed and forfeited. In 1581, Alexander son of Alexander Hume of Manderston, was made commendator, under several protests from those who had previous claims upon the revenues. Why the abbacy should have passed from that family, I am not aware; but in 1592 it was annexed to the crown, with a few exceptions. In 1606 it was given, along with Jedburgh, to Earl Home, the fate of whose family we have seen, under the head of that abbey. In 1621, John Stewart, son of the forfeited Earl of Bothwell above-mentioned, got Coldingham; but the family declined, and soon became extinct.

NEWBOTTLE. (A Cistercian abbey in Mid-Lothian.)—Queen Mary made Mark Ker, second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, commendator of this abbey. His eldest son Mark, was created Lord Newbottle and Earl of Lothian. His eldest son Robert died in 1624, leaving only two daughters.

These are only a few out of the many examples that might be given, even in Scotland, of the “visitation” of Heaven, “unto the third and fourth generation” of those who have committed the crime of sacrilege. I have looked into the history of the other commendators of abbey lands in Scotland, and I find that, with hardly an exception, a similar, or worse fate befell them. And with respect to the sovereigns of the house of Stewart, who, by diverting these lands from their legitimate purpose, were *participes criminis*; and of William III., who annexed the Scottish bishops’ revenues to the crown, it is needless to point out the disasters of all kinds, and extinction of issue, which marked their final destiny.

I will now finish this article with quoting the words which the Marquis of Strafford addressed to his eldest son, immediately before his execution:—“I charge you never to meddle with the revenues of the Church; for the curse of God will follow all who do.”

No. LVI.

TRUE CHARACTER OF THE COVENANTERS, FROM UNDOUBTED
TESTIMONIES.

I will give the character of these men in the words of some individuals who had the best opportunity of judging of them, and whose testimony will not be called in question by any one. How far a resemblance may be discovered to present times, opinions, and practices, I leave to the reader's own observation.

The first testimony I will adduce, is that of Mr Robert Law, a Presbyterian minister, who accepted the Indulgence in the time of Charles II. The following are his words, in his "Memorials," p. 156, when speaking of the Covenanting ministers who were his contemporaries :—

"These ministers that stirred up the people, pretended they were the only pure and sound Presbyterians in the land, with those that followed them : and all others, ministers and people, whether indulged or not indulged, that did not follow their way, were apostates and back-sliders from the truth ; and this they stood not on to preach and say : *whereas there was never any among the prelates pretended to more authority, and practised more prelatial practices than these did ;* for they disowned the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, run upon ministers charges at will, made rents and divisions among the people, and made it their work to separate them from their ministers and congregational assemblies, and gloried when their principles took any footing in the land ; and, indeed, they gained upon the unsolid and unstable professors more than could have been expected."

My next testimony on this subject will be the amiable Dr Leighton bishop of Dunblane, and latterly administrator of the diocese of Glasgow during the suspension of Archbishop Burnet. It is well known that this prelate used every means to bring round the Covenanters to reasonable terms, but that he failed, owing entirely to their obstinacy. At the last meeting he held with them, "perceiving (says Mr Pearson, his biographer) that no terms would be accepted by this *untractable race*, Leighton delivered himself at considerable length, and with energetic solemnity. He unfolded the motives by which he had been actuated in setting afloat this negotiation, and in still urging it forward, when wave upon wave was driving it back. 'My sole object (he said) has been to procure peace, and to advance the interests of true religion. In following

up this object, I have made several proposals which I am fully sensible involved great diminutions of the just rights of Episcopacy. Yet, since all church power is intended for edification, and not for destruction, I thought, in our present circumstances, Episcopacy might do more for the prosperity of Christ's kingdom, by relaxing some of its just pretensions, than it would, by keeping hold of its rightful authority. It is not from any mistrust of the soundness of our cause that I have offered these statements; for I am well convinced that Episcopacy has subsisted from the apostolic age of the church.¹ Perhaps I may have wronged my own order in making such large concessions; but the unerring Discerner of hearts will justify my motives, and I hope ere long to stand excused with my brethren. You have thought fit to reject our overtures, without assigning any reason for the rejection, and without suggesting any healing measures in the room of ours. The continuance of the divisions through which religion languishes must, consequently, *lie at your door*. Before God and man I wash my hands of whatever evils may result from the rupture of this treaty. I have done my utmost to repair the temple of the Lord; and my sorrow will not be embittered by compunction, should a flood of miseries hereafter rush in through the gap you have refused to assist me in closing."

My last testimony I shall adduce from a "Life of Sharp," published the year before his murder, by an anonymous Covenanter.² My object is to show the spirit of the man (and, by inference, of his party) from his own words. Let it be borne in mind, that not only is there no documentary evidence in existence, nor even any probable ground of accusation against Sharp, but that all which is positively known of him is extremely favourable to him, both as a man and a Christian. The Epistle Dedicatory is to Sharp himself, and has this passage:—

"I know nothing human that has a more terrible aspect, and should strike you with more terror, than yourself, and the actions of your own life; which, though but rudely drawn, (truth being more regarded than art in this relation,) yet I hope, with such a resemblance of the portraiture unto the principal after which it is drawn, that yourself cannot justly deny this extract to be an authentic, though black, record of many of your actions which you thought had been buried in oblivion; which yet may live *unto*

¹ Leighton says elsewhere, that those who could not live in communion with the Episcopal Church in his time, could not have done so in the time of the Council of Nice, or even of St Cyprian. In other words, in the judgment of the Church Catholic, such persons would have been *schismatics*.

² And reprinted in Glasgow in the year 1818! for John Wylie & Co., by R. Chapman. The author is said to have been one Hamilton of Kinkell.

your perpetual infamy after you are gone : except the black lines of your life here recorded (unto which many more may be added in a new edition of this work) be blotted out by tears of unfeigned repentance, if there be yet a place of repentance left for such a persecuting apostate."

Speaking of the archbishop's parents, the author says—"Of whom only it can be said, that they were the means to bring into the world a man abhorred of God ; and a man, that when we call him perjured, apostate, a traitor to Christ and His Church, and a persecutor thereof, or what else may be said of him, we do not exhaust all his wickedness : so that God only can search out his wickedness, till he find none, *and punish him condignly for the same,*" p. 9.

"Although we cannot condescend upon the precise time of the birth of their eldest son James, yet we may certainly conclude that it hath been very fatal unto the Church : for amongst all the sons whom she hath brought forth, there is none in any age that did prove so unnatural, so treacherous, and cruel unto her as he ; so that the ambition of Diotrefes, the covetousness of Demas, the treachery of Judas, and the apostacy of Julian, does all meet in him : *and we know not if ever there was any man that had so many virtues as this man has vices,*" p. 12.

In page 46 he tells an anecdote of a child who had the following dream : "This child awakening one day out of sleep, with a great crying and weeping, it was asked at him what ailed him thus to cry ? he answered, that he was troubled with Mr James Sharp, whom he saw in a terrible manner, being represented to him with a very ghastly look, having upon his forehead, 'The wrath of God, The wrath of God, The wrath of God ;' which astonished all that heard him. From which some did conclude, that God did give warning by this child, that there was some work in this man's hand, and wherein he should be chiefly instrumental, that should bring great wrath upon this Church and kingdom ; and that he himself should have such marks of the displeasure of God set upon him, that thereby he should be as much known to be the child of wrath, as if it had been written with legible characters upon his forehead ; and that it was thrice repeated it gave the more assurance."

At page 84, speaking of the Rev. Robert Blair, when on his deathbed, (the same who promoted and assisted at the judicial murder of the royalist prisoners at St Andrews in 1646,) he says, "What impressions Mr Blair had of Sharp, at his death, will appear from what he was heard to utter in prayer to God against him, saying, 'Lord, rub, rub, rub shame upon Sharp !' which may be as well understood to be a prediction as a prayer, considering

what a preinformation this *holy man* had (as at his death he *modestly* acknowledged) of many things, as well relating to the Church as to particular persons; and, with faith in prayer, we doubt not but he was heard therein, and that it will have its accomplishment more fully; although always, since the 1666 year of God, Mr Sharp's glory has been fading; and *we hope shall more and more decay*, because he hath Him for an adversary whose glory he hath turned into shame, and who can make his glorious beauty as a fading flower."

Page 89, when referring to Sharp's strictness in requiring the respect due to him, he adds, "And we make no doubt but he would more easily dispense with blasphemy against God, than not bowing to himself; the one touching him far more nearly than the other." He adds, page 102, that "a minister was sent to banishment for calling him 'Sir,' and not 'My Lord.'"¹

Page 92, he thus speaks of the success of the Covenanters in drawing people away from the Episcopalians:—"For as many as are gained to Christ are lost to them, which has made the prelates, in all ages, follow it as their greatest interest, to bear down a lively and powerful ministry, beside which their dead and useless forms cannot stand, which is all they pretend to in religion."

At St Andrews there was an insane woman of the name of Isobel Lindesay, who had imbibed the Covenanting doctrines, and was therefore looked upon as a sort of oracle by the members of that persuasion. This person was in the habit of going to church, and more than once interrupted the archbishop while in the pulpit. But let us first hear our author's account of the affair. The scene is in the parish church of St Andrews, during a meeting of the synod, in the year 1671. "She sits silent until the blessing was pronounced, and then she rises up, directing her speech unto the synod, and says, 'Gentlemen, although I see not many of you here, yet I desire these of you that are here, to stay until ye be witness of what I am to speak to this man;' and then turning about unto the bishop, who was sitting in his seat before her, she adds, 'This man is a traitor to the Holy God in Heaven, and has tread the Son of God under feet, done despite unto the Spirit of Grace, and set up the kingdom of the devil!'" For this outrageous behaviour she was forcibly removed, and suffered a temporary imprisonment, which did not, however, hinder her from repeating the very same offence the following year. She next (says our biographer) "goes to Edinburgh, where she thrusts herself into the bar before the Secret Council, and getting a sight of the bishop, her spirit is mightily

¹ He should have condescended upon particulars, as to time, place, name, &c.

stirred, and begins to speak to him in the same terms as formerly at St Andrews; but he alleging that she was a person distracted, she was immediately thrust out by the macers. But notwithstanding, she is nothing discouraged from prosecuting her design, but comes home with a resolution to give him another essay in the kirk: *God having now so touched her conscience*, that she despises shame and death, the loss of means and friends, the dissuasion of the nearest relations, and runs on the greatest dangers, that she might make a discovery of him; *by all which we may see she is specially stirred of God for this very end.*" Again, "on a Lord's day (the bishop himself being to preach) she goes to the church so composedly, that her husband had no fear that she should either bring herself or him into danger by any extraordinary action; but when she sees the bishop in the pulpit, she is wonderfully moved, and in the time of the psalms and prayer, she is under a great agitation of spirit! and had much ado to keep herself from speaking: some time she would rise and look the bishop in the face, and hold up her Bible unto him, and shake it, (intimating that the Word of God he had so perverted should judge him, and that name of God he had so much profaned should be vindicate upon him!) which he perceiving, made him fall in very much fear and confusion; so that he had very much ado to come through his prayer, although it was a set form. And these that were about her got her to sit down again; but her spirit was still aloft, being raised with a great fervency against him; so that after he had raised his text, and proceeded but a very little therein, she rises up and interrupts him, and tells him that another place would set him better; and called him traitor, *and whoremaster, and worse than we can tell, although not so ill as he deserved.*"¹

I will finish these extracts with one more from the same book, to the truth of which we may, by this time, know what importance to attach.

"King Charles II. being a prince not naturally inclined to cruelty, had, it seems, some about him who had taken the freedom to let him know something of the inhumanity and barbarity of the archbishop and his accomplices. Upon which representation he sent down an express order to the Council, 'That no more should be put to death;' *which order the archbishop kept in his pocket till he had seen the execution of the last nine or eleven of the Pentland men who were condemned.*"

¹ There is some account of this woman in the "Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews," A.D. 1673, p. 89, from which it appears that she was clearly insane. It is there stated, that she "uttered some reviling speeches against the said archbishop and his lady, at his entry to his sermon, to the great scandal of the congregation; and therefore was immediately incarcerated by the magistrates."

It was, no doubt, upon this scandalous authority that the author of the "State and Sufferings of the Presbyterians" repeated the above accusation against Sharp, resting it upon his usual sandy foundation, "I am well informed."¹ This is rendered the more certain from his thus expressing himself, in regard to the foregoing life of the primate :—"His life, until arriving at the top of his ambition, I have read, written by one of the after-sufferers, a *worthy gentleman* ; and should I give an abstract of it, the portrait would be very black and surprising." I have supplied Wodrow's omission, and given this "black and surprising abstract." It is upon the same authority that the painter of Sharp's murder has pictured two of the assassins "searching for a pardon granted to nine men by the king, which the archbishop had kept up,"—and this, thirteen years after the alleged deed was done, p. 98. Thus are the most atrocious falsehoods engendered and propagated !

The following anagram, from the same source, is a specimen of the manner in which the primate's enemies were in the practice of vilifying his name and character :—

- I Infamous jugler, insolent.
- A Ambitious and arrogant.
- M Monstrous malapert madman.
- E Erroneous Erastian.
- S Saucie, selfish, simonaik.
- S Serville saul-seller, stigmatik.
- H Hell's hound, hideous hierarchist.
- A Abominable arch-atheist.
- R Railing ruffian, runagat.
- P Perfidious perjured prelat.

He thus expresses himself in a letter to the Earl of Kincardine, dated St Andrews, 22d November, 1665 :—"I can, through the goodness of God, bid defiance to all who have an ill eye to me, to charge me justly with any disingenuous unworthy act ; and, in the comfort hereof, I can patiently bear all the smittings of the tongues which providence shall permit to exercise me by ; hoping that all these railings shall be ordered for my good."²

If any should wish to know more of the Covenanters, they will find some curious particulars concerning them, in a few letters from the loyal and brave Mrs Smythe of Methven, written from Methven to her husband when in London, in the year 1678.³ In these

¹ See p. 77.

² See the whole letter in Stephen's *Life of the Archbishop*, p. 307.

³ C. K. Sharpe's edition of *Kirkton*, p. 355, &c.

letters she complains of the misplaced *leniency* of the civil government, as aggravating instead of diminishing the evil. She kept a strict watch over her husband's estate, and would allow no Covenanters to hold their seditious field-preachings upon it. One of her letters she finishes in these words :—" If every master keiped as strick an eye over their ground as ye allowed me to doe, there wold be no conventickells in the land. They are an ignorant wicked pack ; the Lord God clear the nation of them."

No. LVII.

LIST OF THE FIRST AND SECOND MINISTERS OF THE TOWN
CHURCH, ST ANDREWS, SINCE THE REFORMATION.

P signifies Presbyterian, and E Episcopalian.¹

First Ministers.	A.D.	Second Ministers,	A.D.
John Goodman,	1560-1565	Vacant.	
Robert Hamilton,	1565-1581	Vacant.	
Robert Pont, .	1582-1583	Vacant.	
John Rutherford,	1584-	Vacant.	
Robert Wilkie,	1586-1589	Vacant.	
P David Black, .	1590-1597	John Auchinleck,	1590
E Geo. Gladstones,	1597-1612	P Robert Wallace,	1593-1597
E Alex. Gladstones,	1612-1639	E David Lindsay,	1597-1606
P Robert Blair,	1639-1662	E Joshua Durie,	1609-1613
E And ^r . Honyman,	1662-1664	E David Barclay,	1614-1620
E Alex. Young,	1665-1671	E John Douglas,	1621-1623
E Andrew Bruce,	1673-1680	E George Dewar,	1624-1625
E William Moore,	1680-1684	E George Wishart,	1626-1638
E Richard Waddell,	1684-1689	P And ^r . Honyman,	1642-1662
P James Rymer,	1689-1691	E William Moore,	1664-1680
P Thomas Forrester,	1692-1698	E Rob ^t . Honyman,	1681-1686
P John Anderson,	1699-1712	E John Wood,	1686-1689
P William Hardie,	1712-1725	P Alexander Shiels,	1697-1701
P Alex. Anderson,	1725-1738	P William Hardie,	1701-1712
P John M'Cormick,	1738-1753	P Law ^r . Watson,	1712-1719
P John Hill, . .	1753-1765	P John M'Cormick,	1719-1738

¹ As to those at the beginning of the list, it is not easy to say what they were. They were selected solely on the ground of their supposed *qualifications* and their opposition to popery, without regard to ordination of any kind.

P James Gillespie, 1765-1779	P John Hill, . . 1738-1757
P John Adamson, 1779-1808	P James Gillespie, 1757-1765
P George Hill, . 1808-1820	P D. Hunter, . 1765-1772
P Robert Haldane, 1820	P John Adamson, 1772-1780
	P George Hill, . 1780-1808
	P George Buist, . 1813

No. LVIII.

LIST OF THE CHANCELLORS OF THE UNIVERSITY, PRINCIPALS OF
THE COLLEGES, AND PROVOSTS OF THE CITY.*Chancellors of the University.*

The archbishops were <i>ex officio</i> chancellors till the Reformation in 1560.	Archbishop Burnet.
Vacant twelve years.	Archbishop Ross.
Archbishop Douglas.	Earl of Tullibardine.
Archbishop Adamson.	Duke of Chandos.
Earl of Montrose.	Duke of Cumberland.
John Lindsay of Balcarras.	Earl of Kinnoul.
Vacant during the Rebellion.	Henry Dundas, Esq.
Archbishop Sharp.	Duke of Cambridge.
	Viscount Melville.

Principals of St Mary's College.

1516. David Melville.	1688. James Lorimer.
1538. Robert Bannerman.	1691. William Vilant.
1546. Archibald Hay.	1693. Alexander Pitcairn.
1547. John Douglas.	1698. Thomas Forrester.
1574. Robert Hamilton.	1710. James Hadow.
1580. Andrew Melville.	1748. James Murison.
1607. Robert Howie.	1780. James Gillespie.
1644. Samuel Rutherford.	1791. George Hill.
1662. Alexander Colville.	1820. Robert Haldane.
1666. Walter Comrie.	

Principals of St Salvator's College.

1453. John Althamar.
1474. James Ogilvy.

Principals of St Leonard's College.

1512. Alexander Young.
Gavin Logie.

1479. John Liston.	1537. Thomas Cunningham.
1505. Hugh Spens.	1539. Alexander Young.
1529. John Muir.	1544. John Annand.
1551. William Cranstoun.	1550. John Law.
1560. John Rutherford.	1553. John Duncanson.
1566. William Ramsay.	1566. George Buchanan.
1570. James Martine.	1570. James Wilkie.
1624. George Martine.	1589. Robert Wilkie.
1646. John Barron.	1611. Peter Bruce.
Vacant 1649-1657.	1630. Andrew Bruce.
1657. James Wood.	Vacancy 1647-1662 ?
1664. George Wemyss.	1662. James Wemyss.
1677. George Pattullo.	1692. William Tullideph.
1680. Alexander Skene.	1696. George Hamilton.
Vacant 1691-1694.	1697. John Anderson.
1694. Alexander Monro.	1708. Joseph Drew.
1698. Robert Ramsay.	1740. Thomas Tullideph.
1733. William Young.	

United in 1747.

1747. Thomas Tullideph.
1778. Robert Watson.
1782. Joseph M'Cormick.
1800. James Playfair.
1819. Francis Nicoll.
1835. John Hunter.
1838. Sir David Brewster.

Provosts of the City since the Restoration.

1662. Robert Lentrone.	1772. William Duncan.
1673. John Geddes.	1776. Alexander Watson.
1680. John Essone.	1779. John Nairne.
1683. John Geddes.	1783. Alexander Duncan.
1691. Earl of Crawford.	1800. Earl of Kelly.
1711. Alexander Watson.	1809. Robert Meldrum.
1716. Patrick Haldane.	1822. William Haig.
1720. Colonel P. Anstruther.	1833. Kirby Dalrymple.
1724. William Douglas.	1835. George Cruickshank.
1746. Andrew Watson.	1836. William Erskine.
1753. James Lumsdaine.	1837. Peter Wallace.
1760. George Dempster.	1842. Major H. L. Playfair.

No. LIX.

LIST OF DISTINGUISHED MEN EDUCATED AT OR CONNECTED WITH
THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS.

	A.D.
Bishop Henry Wardlaw, founder of the university, died	1440
- Bishop James Kennedy, founder of St Salvator's college, died	1466
Archdeacon Whitelaw, Secretary of State to James III.,	1483
- Archbishop Alexander Stewart, co-founder of St Leonard's college, killed	1513
George Lockhart, logic and metaphysics, lived about	1520
- Gavin Douglas bishop of Dunkeld, "Metrical Translation of Virgil's <i>Æneid</i> ," died	1522
John Hepburn prior of St Andrews, co-founder of St Leonard's college, died	1523
- William Dunbar, poet, died about	1525
John Wadloch, warden of the Franciscan monastery, St Andrews, an eminent mathematician; reign of James V.	
William Manderston—Moral Philosophy, lived about	1530
David Douglas, "De mirabilibus naturæ," about	1530
Henry Scrimgeour, "History of Francis Spira,"—was at St Salvator's college in	1533
Archbishop James Beaton, co-founder of St Mary's college, died	1539
Cardinal D. Beaton, co-founder of the same, murdered	1546
Archibald Hay principal of St Mary's college, "Gratulatio-rius Panegyricus" on Cardinal Beaton, was principal in	1547
- John Major, provost of St Salvator's college, "De gestis Scotorum," died	1550
- John Bellenden archdeacon of Moray, translator of Boethius, died	1550
Sir James Inglis, supposed author of the "Complaynt of Scotland," died	1554
John Maccabæus, or Macalpinus, translator of the Bible into Danish, died	1557
Robert Reid bishop of Orkney, president of the Court of Ses-sion, ¹ died	1558
- Alexander Aless canon of St Andrews, Professor of Divinity at Leipsic, died	1565

¹ He bequeathed 8000 marks towards founding a college in Edinburgh, which were seized by the regent Morton. Keith's Catalogue *in loco*.

A.D.

Patrick third lord Ruthven, "Narrative of Rizzio's Murder," died	1586
Sir D. Lindsay of the Mount, lord Lyon; various works in poetry, and on heraldry, died	1587
Peter Bisset, professor of canon law at Bononia, died	1588
Lord James Stewart prior of St Andrews, murdered,	1570
Archbishop Hamilton, chief endower of St Mary's college, murdered,	1571
Henry Scrimgeour, "Novellæ Constitutiones" of Justinian, and other works,	1571
John Knox the Reformer, "Historie of the Reformation," &c., died,	1572
John Davidson, regent in St Leonard's college, "Ane brief Commendation of Uprightness," a poem printed at St Andrews, in	1573
Henry Balnevis of Halhill, agent of Henry VIII., "Treatise on Justification without Works," died	1579
John Row, a Reformer, and the first Protestant minister of Perth, died	1580
Nicol Burne, professor in St Leonard's college before the Reformation, "Ane Disputation concerning the Controversit headdis of Religion," printed at Paris in	1581
The Admirable Crichton, killed	1582
George Buchanan, poet and historian, principal of St Leonard's college, died	1582
Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, poet and historian; the "Maitland Club" is named after him, died	1586
Archbishop P. Adamson, various translations into Latin verse, died	1592
Robert Rollock, a professor in St Salvator's college, miscellaneous works, died,	1598
John Craig, John Knox's colleague in Edinburgh, died	1600
John Davidson, a Presbyterian divine, opposed to James VI., died	1604
Robert Pont, minister here in 1582, died	1606
Sir Thomas Craig, a work on feudal law, poems, &c., died	1608
John Johnston, poems, &c.; professor of divinity here, died	1611
James Melville, minister of Anstruther, "Diary," died	1613
John Napier of Merchiston, inventor of logarithms, died	1617
George Thomson, translator of Napier on the Revelation into French, "La chasse de la bête Romaine,"	1617
Andrew Melville, principal of St Mary's college, and founder of Presbyterianism in Scotland, died	1622

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*James William Macquarrie Johnston
Archibald Campbell, Glasgow 1891*

	A.D.
Sir John Wedderburn, physician to Charles I., regent here in	1630
Robert Bruce, a Presbyterian divine, opposed to James VI., died	1631
Sir Robert Ayton yr. of Kinnadie, poet and secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria,	1638
Archbishop John Spotswood, "History of the Church of Scotland," died	1639
Dr James Wedderburn, professor of divinity in St Mary's college, and afterwards bishop of Dunblane, expelled in 1638; buried in Canterbury cathedral	1639
Dr Panther, a Latin work named "Valaidos," ejected from St Mary's college in	1639
Alexander Henderson, moderator of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638; correspondence with Charles I., died	1646
George Gillespie, one of the Scottish divines at the Westminster Assembly,	1646
Dr Robert Howie, principal of St Mary's college, "On free-will," died	1648
David Calderwood, "History of the Church of Scotland,"	1651
Dr Peter Young, prebendary of St Paul's, various translations into Latin, died	1652
Dr George Young archdeacon of St Andrews, one of James VI.'s chaplains; when he died is doubtful.	
Alexander Lindsay, first Earl of Balcarres, chancellor of the university, died at Breda,	1659
Samuel Rutherford, principal of St Mary's college, "Letters," "Lex Rex," &c., died	1661
Alexander Colville, professor in St Mary's college, a distinguished Hebraist,	1664
James Wood, provost of St Salvator's, book against Independency, died	1664
Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, founder of a Humanity professorship in St Leonard's college, "Staggering state of Scots Statesmen," died	1670
Dr Mungo Murray, professor of astronomy in Gresham's college, London, died	1670
Sir Robert Murray, lord-justice clerk, and founder of the Royal Society, London, died	1674
Archbishop James Sharp, Letters from the Court of Charles II., murdered	1679
John Maitland duke of Lauderdale, died	1682
John Graham of Claverhouse lord Dundee, killed at Killiecrankie,	1689

	A.D.
— Sir George Mackenzie, lawyer and statesman, founder of the Advocates' Library, died	1691
Sir Andrew Balfour, physician and botanist,	1694
John Sage, non-juring bishop, "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery," &c., died	1711
— Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity here, a practical writer, died	1712
Dr Alexander Monro, principal of the university of Edinburgh, ejected 1690, and died	1715
Archibald Campbell, "Origin of Moral Virtue," professor of Church History here in	1733
David Erskine lord Dun, a moral writer, died	1755
David Watson, professor in St Leonard's college, "Translation of Horace," died	1756
David Gregory, professor of mathematics here in	1763
William Wilkie, professor of Natural Philosophy, "Epigoniad," "Moral Fables in verse," died	1772
— Robert Ferguson, poems, died	1774
Dr Spens, professor of Divinity here, "Plato's Republic,"	1780
Dr Robert Watson, professor of Logic here; "History of the Reign of Philip II.," died	1781
Sir John Pringle, physician, "Diseases of the Army," died	1782
Hugo Arnot of Balcarno, "History of Edinburgh," died	1786
William Barron, professor of Logic here; "Belles Lettres," &c., died	1803
James Bruce, fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge; articles in the Anti-Jacobin Review, died	1806
Dr Charles Wilson, Hebrew grammar, &c., died	1810
— Dr Adam Ferguson, "History of the Roman Republic," &c., died	1816
James Glennie, engineer and geometrician, died	1817
— Hon. Henry Erskine, advocate, died	1817
George Dempster of Dunnichen, politician and agriculturist, died	1818
— John Playfair, professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh; "Euclid," "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory," died	1819
Dr James Playfair, principal of the United College; Chronology and Geography, died	1819
Dr George Hill, principal of St Mary's College; "Theological Institutes," "Lectures," &c., died	1819
— Lord Chancellor Erskine; "Causes and Consequences of the War with France," died	1823
Dr John Barclay, physician and anatomist, died	1826

A.D.

Dr A. Duncan, senior, president of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh; Medical Commentaries, Poems, &c., died	1828
Sir John Leslie, professor of Natural Philosophy, Edinburgh, Geometrical and Philosophical Works, died	1832
Dr Andrew Bell, prebendary of Westminster, author of the Madras System of Education, and founder of the Madras School, St Andrews, died	1832
Dr John Hunter, principal of the United College; editions of the Classics; died	1837
Dr Thomas Jackson, professor of Natural Philosophy; "Elements of Theoretic Mechanics," &c., died	1837
Hugh Cleghorn of Wakefield, professor of Civil History here; "Tour Overland to and from India in 1795-6," in MS.; died	1837

No. LX.

LIST OF THE CAPTAINS AND PRIZE-HOLDERS OF THE ROYAL AND ANCIENT GOLF-CLUB, ST ANDREWS.

A History of St Andrews would be incomplete without some reference to the national game of golf, which is played here in greater perfection than in any part of Scotland.¹ The extent and inequalities of the links are peculiarly adapted for the purpose. The club originated in the year 1750, and consists of about 400 noblemen and gentlemen; many of whom are actual players, and assemble periodically to compete for the prizes which will be mentioned below. One of the members is chosen captain for the year, whose office it is to preside at the golf dinners, and at the annual ball which takes place in October. There are nine holes on the links, three or four hundred yards apart; and the object of the players, in going out and returning, is to drive their balls into these holes at the smallest possible number of strokes. But I will not enter into the rules of the game, nor the laws of the club; because description is unnecessary to those who play, and would, perhaps, be both uninteresting and unintelligible to those who do not. I will, therefore, do no more than give the following tables, which will, in a great measure, explain themselves:—

¹ Though this game is now so popular, it was forbidden by the laws of James II. of Scotland, as "an unprofitable sport for the common good of the realm, and defence thereof." For the contrary reason, archery was encouraged.

Captains and Prize-holders in the Royal and Ancient Golf-club, St Andrews.

Year.	Captains.	Old Medal-holders.	Strokes.
1806.	William Dalgleish, Esq. of Sootsraig,	Walter Cook, Esq., W.S.,	100
1807.	General George Moncrieff,	Do.	101
1808.	Alexander Guthrie, Esq. of Craigie,	William Oliphant, Esq.,	102
1809.	James Home Rigg, Esq. of Morton,	Do.	104
1810.	John Maitland, Esq. of Kilmoren,	Dr James Hunter, United College,	111
1811.	Thomas Bruce, Esq. of Graugemuir,	Do.	116
1812.	R. Gillespie Smyth, Esq. of Gibleston,	Robert Pattullo, Esq.,	109
1813.	General James Durham of Largo,	Do.	114
1814.	George Cheape, Esq. of Pusk,	Do.	118
1815.	John Makgill, Esq. of Kembeak,	Dr James Hunter, United College,	101
1816.	Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther, Bart.,	David Moncreiff, Esq.,	111
1817.	David Moncrieff, Esq., younger of Moncrieff,	Walter Cook, Esq., W.S.,	113
1818.	John Murray, Esq. of Lintrose,	Captain H. L. Playfair,	111
1819.	Robert Bruce, Esq. of Kennet,	Sir David Moncrieff, Bart.,	102
1820.	The Right Hon. John earl of Leven and Melville,	Edward D'Oyley, Esq.,	108
1821.	Alexander Bethune, Esq. of Rlebe,	Henry M. Low, Esq., W.S.,	108
1822.	Alexander Binny, Esq., St Andrews,	Charles Shaw, Esq.,	113
1823.	J. Whyte Melville, Esq. of Strathkinnes,	Henry M. Low, Esq., W.S.,	120
1824.	Colonel James Lindsay, younger of Balcarres,	Do.	110
1825.	Sir Ralph Anstruther of Balcaekie, Bart.,	Samuel Messieux, Esq.,	105

Captains and Holders of the Old Medal, first played for in 1806.

Year.	Captains.	Old Medal-holders.	Strokes.
1826.	Charles M. Christie, Esq. of Durie,	Robert Pattullo, Esq., jun.,	104
1827.	James Cheape, Esq. of Balgove, Capt., R.N.,	Samuel Mesieux, Esq.,	111
1828.	John Dalryell, Esq. of Lingo,	Robert Pattullo, Esq., jun.,	105
1829.	Sir David Erskine of Cambo, Bart.,	Major Holcroft, R.A.,	109
1830.	Francis Balfour, Esq. of Fernie,	Do.	111
1831.	James Stuart Oliphant, Esq. of Rossie,	David Duncan, Esq.	111
1832.	C. Halket Craigie, Esq. of Dumbarnie,	John A. Wood, Esq., Leith,	104
1833.	Major Robert Anstruther of Third Part,	Major Holcroft, R.A.,	103
1834.	General Sir John Oswald of Dunnikier, G.C.B.	Robert Oliphant, Esq.,	97
1835.	Colonel John M. Belshes of Buttergask,	Do.	102
1836.	Do.	Major Wemyss,	104
1837.	George Moncrieff, Esq., Captain, Scots F. Guards,	James Condie, Esq.,	103
1838.	O. T. Bruce, Esq. of Falkland,	Robert Haig, Esq.,	112
1839.	John Grant, Esq. of Kilgraston,	Andrew Stirling, Esq.,	99
1840.	Henry Stewart, Esq. of St Fort,	William Wood, Esq.,	111
1841.	D. Gillespie, Esq. of Mountquhanie,	Captain Archibald O. Dalgleish,	109
1842.	John Balfour, Esq. of Balbirnie,	Major H. L. Playfair,	108

Captains and Holders of the Old Medal,
first played for in 1836.

	Year.	Captains.	Strokes.
Holders of Colonel J. M. Belahes' Silver Cross, first played for in 1836.	1836.	James Condie, Esq., . . .	110
	1837.	J. W. Wood, Esq., . . .	100
	1838.	C. Robertson, Esq., . . .	111
	1839.	Do. do. . . .	104
	1840.	P. Messieux, Esq., . . .	109
	1841.	Robert Haig, Esq., . . .	104
	1842.	Do. do. . . .	104
	1843.	Captain D. Campbell, . . .	103
Holders of King William IVth's Gold Medal, first played for in 1837.	1837.	J. S. Oliphant, Esq., . . .	104
	1838.	Captain H. Grant, . . .	100
	1839.	J. A. Wood, Esq., . . .	99
	1840.	Major H. L. Playfair, . . .	110
	1841.	Sir David Baird, Bart. . . .	100
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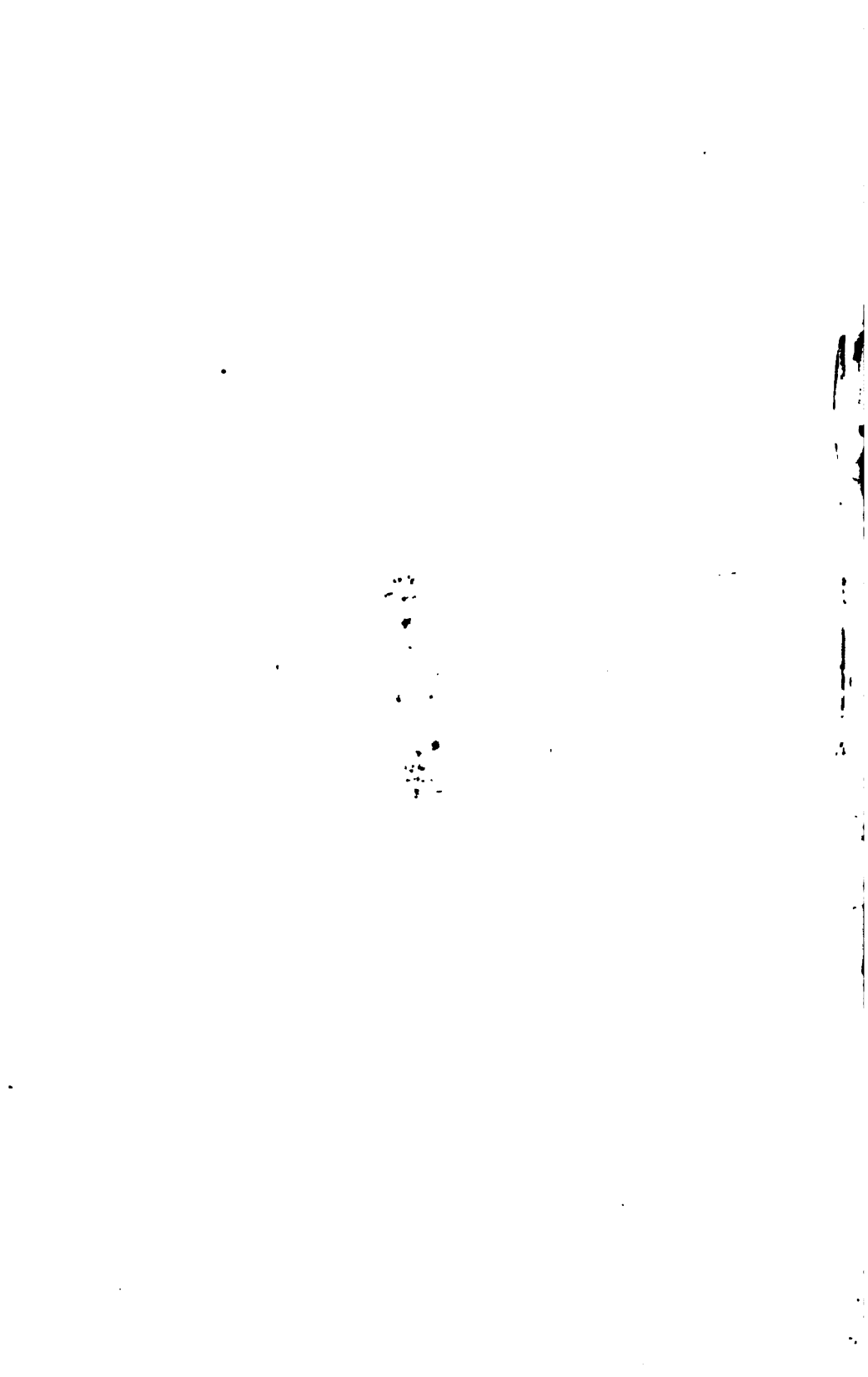
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